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The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America

(1808-1831)

BY

ALICE DANA ADAMS, A.M.

BOSTON AND LONDON
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1908

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PREFACE

THIS monograph is the result of research work done under the direction of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D., of Harvard University, during 1898–1899, and in the intervals of other work, in 1902–1904. The work was undertaken with the simple purpose of gaining inspiration, and help in methods, from association with one so justly famed in historical circles, with no idea of any further result. A study of the period, 1808–1831, however, showed such a wealth of material, and reversed so many of the ideas prevalent among historians, that the results have been put into permanent form with the hope that the work may prove of some material aid to other students and writers of history.

The period 1808–1831 has most commonly, perhaps, received the name of "the Period of Stagnation." It is credited with no aggressive anti-slavery work; it is rarely credited with even real anti-slavery sentiment of any sort. The anti-slavery workers are said to have trusted that the abolition of the African slave trade would do all the work necessary for the benefit of the slave, even to his ultimate emancipation, until William Lloyd Garrison with his trumpet-blast waked the sleepers and began the new era, whose history is familiar to all.

While it is not to be denied that in some sections of the country there was considerable ground for such a characterization of the period, it is not in reality a fair one for all sections, nor for the entire period. Investigation has shown anti-slavery sentiment where none was suspected; anti-slavery labors where none had been heard of; even appeals for immediate and universal emancipation and violent denunciation of slavery, in a "period of stagnation."

So much material has been found which has always been available to one who could spend the time in its search, and the conclusions which one must inevitably draw from the study of the material are so opposite to prevailing opinions, that the period

has seemed to deserve the name which has therefore been applied to it, — "The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808–1831."

The research involved was carried on principally in the vicinity of Boston, where exhaustive use has been made of the Harvard University Library; the Boston Public Library; the Athenæum; the Massachusetts State Library; the Newton Public Library; and various private libraries. The writer has also personally visited the Library of Congress; Brown University Library; the Library of the Historical Society of Rhode Island, at Providence; and that of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Many thanks are due the librarians and assistants, who were of great aid in the investigation. In addition to these, many libraries were kind enough to send to Harvard Library for consultation books which could not be otherwise obtained. Among these were the Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Branch; the New York State Library; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Cornell University; the University of Pennsylvania; the Historical Society of Wisconsin; the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.; Oberlin College; and the Library of Congress.

The writer wishes also to express her gratitude to those who have shown interest in the work, not only by welcome words of encouragement, but by substantial help in the discovery of material, or in the preparation of the book. Among such are the late Judge William Birney, of Washington, and the late Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, of New Haven; Francis J. Garrison and Wendell P. Garrison, the two sons of William Lloyd Garrison; all of whom aided in the discovery of material; to Miss Mary S. Locke, the author of the monograph on "Anti-Slavery in America, 1620–1808," who, as a fellow-student of Professor Hart, and a writer on the previous period of anti-slavery labor, was of substantial aid in the beginning of the investigation; to Miss Louise Manning Hodgkins, formerly Professor of Literature at Wellesley College, and Miss Frances Bent Dillingham, of Auburndale, who read the manuscript; and to Professor Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard University, whose review of the proofs has been of great help. Especial thanks are due to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D., of Harvard University, who, in every way, from beginning to end, has

been an inspiration and an aid; who, with his words of help and encouragement, or of criticism and warning has made the book a possibility; to whom, more than to anyone else, is due whatever success the author may have achieved.

ALICE DANA ADAMS

AUBURNDALE, Mass., Sept. 1908

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THE NEGLECTED PERIOD OF ANTI-SLAVERY IN AMERICA

1808–1831

CHAPTER I

THE ELEMENTS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONTEST, 1808–1831

The question of slavery in the United States has aroused more public attention and presents more points of interest to the student of history than in any other country. The reason is not far to seek: though slavery has existed in Cuba, the French Islands, and the British West Indies, and even in England, none of these areas presented the spectacle of a house divided against itself, half slave and half free. Slavery caused no jealousy between Jamaica and St. Kitts, and when the time came England as a nation could find no excuse for failure to interfere with the system. English slavery was abolished in the face of the tremendous opposition of the commercial classes, but when abolished left no feeling of resentment against the political authority which had set the slaves free. The feelings of the colonials were soothed by compensation.

Slavery, introduced into Virginia in 1619, soon took root in the country, North as well as South. In the North, however, the slaves were in large measure domestic servants, because the climate was not propitious for their use as farm servants in large numbers. Before long it was found that there was little profit from such a use of slaves, and by degrees, and in the natural course of events, slavery ceased to be a factor in the social economy of the Northern states. In the South, on the other hand, the climate tempted the white settler to idleness, and since it more nearly resembled the climate of Africa it was not too severe for the slave. Slavery therefore as a means of accomplishing the work of cultivation without undue exertion took a firmer hold. Still even there the haphazard methods and proverbial idleness of the slaves would have made them a poor investment had it not been for the invention of the

cotton gin in 1794, which brought that crop immediately to the front and made possible its cultivation on a large scale, by the help of the negro. The Middle States partook of the characteristics of both the North and the South, though, as they raised largely neither tobacco nor cotton, by degrees they approached the standpoint of the North.

This history of slavery in brief is well known to every student of American History and needs no debate or confirmation. The other side of the story, the steady growth of opposition to slavery, is much less familiar, and deserves critical investigation.

The history of the anti-slavery contest in the country is divisible into three distinct periods, bearing a certain degree of resemblance, and yet showing marked differences. First, the colonial and early national period, ending with the great victory of 1807 in the passage of the Slave Trade Act, which is critically and exhaustively discussed in Miss Mary S. Locke's monograph, "Anti-Slavery in America, 1619–1808." Second, the neglected interval between 1808 and 1831, the so-called "period of stagnation"; and third, the well-known epoch of Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1831–1861.

The aim of the present writing is to discover any anti-slavery sentiment which may have existed in the neglected epoch and to prove, if possible, that it was a period, not of stagnation, but of growth, during which the anti-slavery forces were still active; a period of preparation for the abolition agitation which was finally closed by the guns of the Civil War.

Two preliminary points must be examined at the beginning: the actual numerical importance of slavery, and the condition and treatment of the slaves. The attitude of the various states toward slavery varies as the absolute number of their slaves and the proportion of negroes to their entire population varied. A study of the census tables[1] on the following pages will be of interest as throwing light on the causes of this variation. The total number of slaves in the whole United States while nearly doubled in the

[1] The tables in this chapter, giving the numbers and ratios of the slaves, free negroes and total white population, are compiled, so far as it was possible, from two sources: first, "A Statistical View of the Population of the United States, 1790–1830," published by the Department of State in 1835; and second, "Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1898," published by the Government in 1899. The numbers not found in either of these, and all the ratios, have been found by a simple arithmetical calculation. The actual reports of each census have also been studied, and compared with these.

CENSUS OF 1790

	Population					Ratios			
	Colored			White	Total	Colored			White
	Slave	Free	Total			Slave	Free	Total	
Me.	0	538	538	96002	96540	0	0.56	0.56	99.44
N. H.	158	630	788	141111	141899	0.11	0.44	0.55	99.45
Ver.	17	255	272	85144	85416	0.02	0.30	0.32	99.68
Mass.	0	5463	5463	373324	378787	0	1.44	1.44	98.56
R. I.	952	3469	4421	64689	69110	1.38	5.02	6.40	93.60
Conn.	2759	2801	5560	232581	238141	1.16	1.18	2.33	97.67
N. Y.	21324	4654	25978	314142	340120	6.27	1.37	7.64	92.36
N. J.	11423	2762	14185	169954	184139	6.20	1.50	7.70	92.30
Penn.	3737	6537	10274	424099	434373	0.86	1.50	2.37	97.63
Ohio	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ind.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ill.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mich.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Del.	8887	3899	12786	46310	59096	15.04	6.60	21.64	78.36
Md.	103036	8043	111079	208649	319728	32.23	2.52	34.74	65.26
D. C.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Va.	293427	12766	306193	442115	748308	39.21	1.71	40.92	59.08
N. C.	100572	4975	105547	288204	393751	25.54	1.26	26.80	73.20
S. C.	107094	1801	108895	140178	249073	43.00	0.72	43.72	56.28
Ga.	29264	398	29662	52886	82548	35.45	0.48	35.93	64.07
Fla.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mo.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ken.	11830	114	11944	61133	73077	16.19	0.16	16.34	83.66
Tenn.	3417	361	3778	32013	35791	9.55	1.01	10.56	89.44
Ala.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miss.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
La.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ark.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U. S.	697897	59466	757363	3172464	3929827	17.76	1.51	19.27	80.73

Note. The ratios in these tables are calculated to the nearest hundredth.

CENSUS OF 1800

	Population					Ratios			
	Colored			White	Total	Colored			White
	Slave	Free	Total			Slave	Free	Total	
Me.	0	818	818	150901	151719	0	0.54	0.54	99.46
N. H.	8	856	864	182898	183762	0.04	0.47	0.47	99.53
Vt.	0	557	557	153908	154465	0	0.36	0.36	99.64
Mass.	0	6452	6452	416393	422845	0	1.53	1.53	98.47
R. I.	381	3304	3685	65437	69122	0.55	4.78	5.33	94.67
Conn.	951	5330	6281	244721	251002	0.38	2.12	2.50	97.50
N. Y.	20343	10374	30717	556039	586756	3.47	1.77	5.24	94.76
N. J.	12422	4402	16824	195125	211949	5.86	2.08	7.94	92.06
Penn.	1706	14564	16270	586095	602365	0.28	2.42	2.70	97.30
Ohio	0	337	337	45028	45365	0	0.74	0.74	99.26
Ind.	135	163	298	4577	4875	2.77	3.34	6.11	93.89
Ill.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mich.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Del.	6153	8268	14421	49852	64273	9.57	12.86	22.44	77.56
Md.	105635	19587	125222	216326	341528	30.93	5.73	36.66	63.34
D. C.	3244	783	4027	10066	14093	23.02	5.56	28.57	71.43
Va.	345796	20124	365920	514280	880200	39.29	2.29	41.57	58.43
N. C.	133296	7043	140339	337764	478103	27.88	1.47	29.35	70.65
S. C.	146151	3185	149336	196255	345591	42.29	0.92	43.21	56.79
Ga.	59404	1019	60423	101678	162101	36.65	0.63	37.27	62.73
Fla.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mo.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ky.	40343	741	41084	179871	220955	18.26	0.34	18.59	81.41
Tenn.	13584	309	13893	91709	105602	12.86	0.29	13.16	86.84
Ala.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miss.	3489	182	3671	5179	8850	39.42	2.06	41.48	58.52
La.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ark.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U. S.	893041	108398	1001439	4304502	5305941	16.83	2.04	18.87	81.13

CENSUS OF 1810

	Population					Ratios			
	Colored			White	Total	Colored			White
	Slave	Free	Total			Slave	Free	Total	
Me.	0	969	969	227736	228705	0	0.42	0.42	99.58
N. H.	0	970	970	213390	214360	0	0.45	0.45	99.55
Vt.	0	750	750	216963	217713	0	0.34	0.34	99.66
Mass.	0	6737	6737	465303	472040	0	1.43	1.43	98.57
R. I.	108	3609	3717	73314	77031	0.14	4.69	4.83	95.17
Conn.	310	6453	6763	255279	262042	0.12	2.46	2.58	97.42
N. Y.	15017	25333	40350	918699	959049	1.57	2.64	4.21	95.79
N. J.	10851	7843	18694	226861	245555	4.42	3.19	7.61	92.39
Penn.	795	22492	23287	786804	810091	0.10	2.78	2.87	97.13
Ohio	0	1899	1899	228861	230760	0	0.82	0.82	99.18
Ind.	237	393	630	23890	24520	0.97	1.60	2.57	97.43
Ill.	168	613	781	11501	12282	1.37	4.99	6.36	93.64
Mich.	24	120	144	4618	4762	0.50	2.52	3.02	96.98
Del.	4177	13136	17313	55361	72674	5.75	18.08	23.82	76.18
Md.	111502	33927	145429	235117	380546	29.30	8.92	38.22	61.78
D. C.	5395	2549	7944	16079	24023	22.46	10.62	33.07	66.93
Va.	392518	30570	423088	551534	974622	40.27	3.14	43.41	56.59
N. C.	168824	10266	179090	376410	555500	30.39	1.85	32.24	67.76
S. C.	196365	4554	200919	214196	415115	47.30	1.10	48.40	51.60
Ga.	105218	1801	107019	145414	252433	41.68	0.71	42.39	57.61
Fla.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mo.	3011	607	3618	17227	20845	14.44	2.91	17.36	82.64
Ky.	80561	1713	82274	324237	406511	19.82	0.42	20.24	79.76
Tenn.	44535	1317	45852	215875	261727	17.02	0.50	17.52	82.48
Ala.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miss.	17088	240	17328	23024	40352	42.35	0.59	42.94	57.06
La.	34660	7585	42245	34311	76556	45.27	9.91	55.18	44.82
Ark.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
U. S.	1191364	186446	1377810	5862004	7239814	16.46	2.58	19.03	80.97

CENSUS OF 1820

	Population					Ratios			
	Colored			White	Total	Colored			White
	Slave	Free	Total			Slave	Free	Total	
Me.	0	929	929	297340	298269	0	0.31	0.31	99.69
N. H.	0	786	786	243236	244022	0	0.32	0.32	99.68
Vt.	0	903	903	234846	235749	0	0.38	0.38	99.62
Mass.	0	6740	6740	516419	523159	0	1.29	1.29	98.71
R. I.	48	3554	3602	79413	83015	0.06	4.28	4.34	95.66
Conn.	97	7844	7941	267161	275102	0.04	2.85	2.89	97.11
N. Y.	10088	29279	39367	1332744	1372111	0.74	2.13	2.87	97.13
N. J.	7557	12460	20017	257409	277426	2.72	4.49	7.22	92.78
Penn.	211	30202	30413	1017094	1047507	0.02	2.88	2.90	97.10
Ohio	0	4723	4723	576572	581295	0	0.81	0.81	99.19
Ind.	190	1230	1420	145758	147178	0.13	0.84	0.96	99.04
Ill.	917	457	1374	53788	55162	1.66	0.83	2.49	97.51
Mich.	0	174	174	8591	8765	0	1.99	1.99	98.01
Del.	4509	12958	17467	55282	72749	6.20	17.81	24.01	75.99
Md.	107398	39730	147128	260222	407350	26.36	9.75	36.12	63.88
D. C.	6377	4048	10425	22614	33039	19.30	12.25	31.55	68.45
Va.	425153	36889	462042	603074	1065116	39.92	3.46	43.38	56.62
N. C.	205017	14612	219629	419200	638829	32.09	2.29	34.38	65.62
S. C.	258475	6826	265301	237440	502741	51.41	1.36	52.77	47.23
Ga.	149656	1763	151419	189566	340985	43.89	0.52	44.41	55.59
Fla.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mo.	10222	347	10569	55988	66557	15.36	0.52	15.88	84.12
Ky.	126732	2759	129491	434644	564135	22.46	0.49	22.95	77.05
Tenn.	80107	2727	82834	339927	422761	18.95	0.65	19.60	80.40
Ala.	47439	633	48072	96245	144317	32.87	0.44	33.31	66.69
Miss.	32814	458	33272	42176	75448	43.49	0.61	44.10	55.90
La.	69064	10476	79540	73383	152923	45.16	6.85	52.01	47.99
Ark.	1617	59	1676	12579	14255	11.34	0.41	11.76	88.24
U. S.	1543688	233566	1777254	7872711	9649965	16.00	2.42	18.42	81.57

CENSUS OF 1830

	Population					Ratios			
	Colored			White	Total	Colored			White
	Slave	Free	Total			Slave	Free	Total	
Me.	2	1190	1192	398263	399455	.0005	.298	0.30	99.70
N. H.	3	604	607	268721	269328	.001	.224	0.23	99.77
Vt.	0	881	881	279771	280652	0	0.31	0.31	99.69
Mass.	1	7048	7049	603359	610408	.0002	1.15	1.15	98.85
R. I.	17	3561	3578	93621	97199	.02	3.66	3.68	96.32
Conn.	25	8047	8072	289603	297675	.01	2.70	2.71	97.29
N. Y.	75	44870	44945	1873663	1918608	.004	2.33	2.34	97.66
N. J.	2254	18303	20557	300266	320823	.70	5.71	6.41	93.59
Penn.	403	37930	38333	1309900	1348233	.03	2.81	2.84	97.16
Ohio	6	9568	9574	928329	937903	.0006	1.02	1.02	98.98
Ind.	3	3629	3632	339399	343031	.0009	1.06	1.06	98.94
Ill.	747	1637	2384	155061	157445	.47	1.04	1.51	98.49
Mich.	32	261	293	31346	31639	.10	0.82	0.93	99.07
Del.	3292	15855	19147	57601	76748	4.29	20.66	24.95	75.05
Md.	102994	52938	155932	291108	447040	23.04	11.84	34.88	65.12
D. C.	6119	6152	12271	27563	39834	15.36	15.44	30.81	69.19
Va.	469757	47348	517105	694300	1211405	38.78	3.91	42.69	57.31
N. C.	245601	19543	265144	472843	737987	33.28	2.65	35.93	64.07
S. C.	315401	7921	323322	257863	581185	54.27	1.36	55.63	44.37
Ga.	217531	2486	220017	296806	516823	42.09	0.48	42.57	57.43
Fla.	15501	844	16345	18385	34730	44.63	2.43	47.06	52.94
Mo.	25091	569	25660	114795	140455	17.86	0.41	18.27	81.73
Ky.	165213	4917	170130	517787	687917	24.02	0.71	24.73	75.27
Tenn.	141603	4555	146158	535746	681904	20.76	0.67	21.43	78.57
Ala.	117549	1572	119121	190406	309527	37.98	0.51	38.48	61.52
Miss.	65659	519	66178	70443	136621	48.06	0.38	48.44	51.56
La.	109588	16710	126298	89441	215739	50.80	7.75	58.54	41.46
Ark.	4576	141	4717	25671	30388	15.06	0.46	15.52	84.48
U. S.	2009043	319599	2328642	10532060	12860702	15.63	2.49	18.11	81.89

forty years under consideration had not increased so rapidly as the whites and had steadily decreased in percentage from 17.76 % in 1790, to 15.63 % in 1830; the change is suggestive in view of the new states added to the South during the period.

Of the six New England states, Massachusetts alone, with its District of Maine, reported no slaves in 1790.[1] Rhode Island possessed the largest proportionate slave population in New England at this period, — 1.38 %, although Connecticut was not far behind, with 1.16 %. Of the states later known as the "free states," New York and New Jersey had in 1790 the largest proportion of slaves, — 6.27 % and 6.20 %. It is interesting to notice that Pennsylvania at this early date stood fifth in the list of the nine Northern states then settled, with only .86 % of its population slaves.

As we turn to the South we find a great difference, even at this period. The lowest percentage of slaves, — 9.55 % in Tennessee, is far in advance of the highest in the North; while the highest in the South, — 43 % in South Carolina, begins to suggest to us the teeming slave populations of later years.

In 1800 the number of slaves in the North had decreased proportionately everywhere and absolutely save in New Jersey. The number of free negroes had increased in this section with the single exception of the state of Rhode Island; and in the "District of Maine" a larger proportion was colored than in 1790. In this year New Jersey bears the doubtful honor of the largest slave population in the North, — 5.86 %; Indiana reports 135 slaves, or 2.77 % of the population; while Ohio, with 337 free blacks, confessed to no slaves.

During this decade, 1790–1800, the proportionate number of slaves in Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina decreased, while in Virginia the increase was very slight. On the other hand, the number of free blacks increased greatly, except in Kentucky and Tennessee. In Maryland it actually doubled. The black population as a whole, therefore, increased proportionately as well as absolutely, in every Southern state except South Carolina. The lowest percentage of slaves in the South is 9.57 %, in Delaware, and Tennessee stands second with a percentage of 12.86 %. South Carolina still leads, but with a slightly smaller proportion, — 42.29 %, and the new state of Mississippi stands next, with 39.42 %.

[1] There is a claim that the report of 17 from Vermont in 1790 was a mistake.

In the census of 1810 the relative distribution was much the same. The slaves and free blacks had lessened proportionately in every state of the North except Pennsylvania, and there the slaves had greatly decreased. Connecticut, however, was the only state where the colored population had not absolutely increased. Five states report no slaves in this census: Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont, in New England; and Ohio, in the West. The largest proportion of slaves in a Northern state in 1810 was 4.42 % in New Jersey.

In the South, Delaware, Maryland and the District of Columbia each show a proportionate decrease in the number of slaves, with an absolute numerical decrease in Delaware of nearly a third. The lowest percentage is again in Delaware, — 5.75 %; Missouri is second, with a percentage of 14.44. South Carolina still leads, with 47.30 %, but the new state of Louisiana closely follows with 45.27 %, and three others are over 40 %.

In 1820, the fourth census, Illinois alone in the North reported a larger proportion of slaves than in 1810; and in nearly every state the whites had made a considerable gain. It is of interest to notice that in these ten years just before the struggle in Illinois the number of slaves there increased largely, while the number of free blacks, both proportionate and absolute, decreased. In 1810 there were 168 slaves and 613 free blacks, or 1.37 % and 4.99 % respectively; in 1820 the numbers were 917 and 457; the percentages 1.66 % and .83 %.

The condition in the South now becomes slightly different. A reaction seems to have taken place in Delaware, which had hitherto been steadily approaching comparative freedom; Maryland and the District of Columbia continue to decrease as before, Maryland in absolute numbers as well as proportionately; and Virginia, which had been increasing, loses somewhat proportionately though still gaining absolutely. Yet Delaware still has the smallest proportion of slaves, — 6.20 %. A new state, Arkansas, stands next, with 11.34 %. During this period the number of slaves in South Carolina had so grown that they numbered in 1820 more than half the population, — 51.41 %.

In 1830 slaves were reported from every then existing state of the Union, save Vermont. The largest number in any New England state, however, was 25 in Connecticut, and the largest propor-

tion, .02 % in Rhode Island. Massachusetts reported only one; Maine, two; and New Hampshire and Indiana each three. The largest proportion in the Northern states this year was .70 %, compared with 2.72 % in 1820, 4.42 % in 1810, 5.86 % in 1800, and 6.27 % in 1790. Illinois had passed safely through her struggle, and while the number of slaves had decreased, that of free negroes had greatly increased. In place of 1.66 % as in 1820, the slaves were now but .47 % of the population.

Delaware had recovered ground as the least slave-ridden of the Southern states, the number of slaves reported for that state being smaller in 1830 than at any former time;[1] less than half of the number in 1790; and the percentage had decreased to 4.29 %, which again was the lowest number in the South. Other states, however, had their share in this blessing; Maryland had fewer slaves and a smaller percentage than in 1790; the District of Columbia had shown a steady decrease in the proportion since its foundation, and in this decade showed an absolute loss; Virginia and Georgia also showed a gain for freedom. South Carolina, as before, led the congested states, with the large proportion, — 54.27 % of slaves; while Louisiana had passed the 50 % mark, and Mississippi was coming near it. This census seems to give some ground for the assertion so often made that much of the South would have freed the slaves if given more time. Something caused the reaction later, — either the spirit of opposition raised by the abolitionists, as is usually claimed; or the unwillingness of the South, when it came to the point, to make the sacrifice. The question is one which will probably never be satisfactorily settled.

Though slaves were held during the whole of this period, 1808–1831, in all the states except Vermont, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Ohio, yet in the Northern, or, as they were later called, the "free states," there were but few of them. All of these states had adopted gradual emancipation acts, which were surely, though slowly, freeing those that remained. Since the slaves were so few in number, and nearly all of them what are termed "domestic slaves," there was less likelihood of ill treatment, and the negro question was not so much of a problem as it was in the far South, where the number of negroes was so much larger. In the

[1] The free blacks in Delaware in 1800 outnumbered the slaves; in 1810 and 1820 they were nearly three times as many; in 1830 they were nearly five times as many.

Northern states having the most negroes, free and slave, the proportion of the black population was only from one third to one fourth as much as in the Southern state which had the fewest slaves. It was not strange that the Northerner who had never traveled in the South, and seen the large colored population there, could not understand the position of the Southerner, and that the Southerner should realize this, and resent his interference.

To understand the play of public sentiment on the vexed questions of slavery from 1808 to 1831 we must also examine briefly the conditions of slavery and the slaves in the United States. The best authorities on social conditions are the books published by European or Northern travelers in the South. Many such books omit the subject altogether, or give us no real clue as to the general treatment of the slaves. Thus John Lambert refers without much specification to brutal treatment of slaves;[1] Inchiquin speaks little of the slave, but mentions the master's indolence in consequence of slavery.[2] It is hard to generalize on the condition and treatment of the slaves, for it varied according to the character of their owners. As David Benedict says (1813), "The existence of slavery in a country is calculated to awaken all the propensities of human nature, whether good or bad."[3] The passionate, overbearing and cruel master had an ample opportunity to be brutal, while the naturally kind-hearted man was merciful. No one who examines the evidence can doubt that, certainly before 1830, the majority of the slaves were well treated. Many men of the South bought slaves they did not need, in order to keep families together.[4] Household servants were often petted, and the field hands well fed and well lodged, with leisure time at their disposal. On the other hand, the oft-told cruelties did exist; no master could ensure kind treatment to his slaves after his death; while the wasteful system of slave labor, and the common carelessness as to money matters, often brought the owner to sell his slaves for debt. Slavery in the far Southern states was worse than in the Northern tier; and everywhere one could find masters who cared less for the comfort of

[1] John Lambert: "Travels through Lower Canada and the United States of North America," 2. 403–417.

[2] "Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters during a Late Residence in the United States of America," p. 106.

[3] David Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 2. 210.

[4] Benedict (2. 211, 212) gives two instances of this.

their slaves than for that of their horses or dogs. The greatest evil of slavery was not in what it was, but in what it always might be.

For the good treatment of the slaves the travelers bear abundant testimony. Paulding, a Northerner who traveled in the South in 1816, and who distinctly asserted his hatred of slavery, was reconciled in some measure to the bondage of the negroes by the appearance of the slave cabins on a Virginia plantation. "Since their lot is beyond remedy" it is consoling to find "kindness and plenty." He even wondered if the slaves were not often happier than the whites, since they were relieved from all care for either present or future.[1] William Tell Harris, an English traveler in 1817–1819, stated that the condition of the slaves was often really better than that of many English peasants, except that they were slaves.[2] John Palmer (1817) spoke of slavery in Western Virginia as divested of most of its terrors, and believed that with very few exceptions the slaves were treated kindly in Kentucky and Tennessee; he was confident that several slave states were ameliorating the condition of their slave population, and Niles, in 1818, confirms this view for Maryland, although he still sees room for improvement.[3] W. Faux, in 1823, was impressed by the "respectable, happy, and healthy appearance of slaves" in Charleston, South Carolina; their daily work might be done at one o'clock, "if they labor well," and their condition in some respects was better than that of English paupers.[4] Mrs. Frances (Milton) Trollope, who came to this country in 1827, with strong prejudices against slavery, wrote, after becoming acquainted with the institution, that the condition of the domestic slaves was rarely bad, but wherever it was hard the slaves had no power to change it.[5] James Fenimore Cooper wrote in 1828: "Physical suffering . . . is not the prominent grievance of slavery. It is the deep moral degradation which no man has a right to entail on another, that forms the essence of its shame." [6]

The evidence on the other side is fairly represented by Francis Hall, an English army officer who visited the South in 1816; he

[1] James Kirke Paulding: "Letters from the South," pp. 24, 25, 118.

[2] W. T. Harris: "Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America," p. 49.

[3] John Palmer: "Journal of Travels in the United States," pp. 127, 153, 158; Niles' Weekly Register, 15. 5.

[4] W. Faux: "Memorable Days in America," pp. 41, 59.

[5] Mrs. Frances (Milton) Trollope: "Domestic Manners of the Americans," p. 198. See also p. 30.

[6] James Fenimore Cooper: "Notions of the Americans," American edition, 2. 276.

speaks of the "wretched dwellings and wretched faces," the "cowering humility," "servile respect" and "fear" in the "shrinking eye" seen by him while passing from Philadelphia to Washington. He was shocked by the slave law of the Carolinas, and remarked that it is not pleasant to live under the uncontrolled will of any man. He thought the house and domestic servants in many instances were in not much worse condition than the corresponding servants in England, but this was not true of the field hands.[1]

The slaves were treated much better in some parts of the country than others; the general rule being, the farther south the more miserable the condition. James Flint (1818) wrote that the treatment of slaves in Kentucky was milder than in the southeastern part of the Union.[2] Hodgson (1819-1820) began to be shocked at the looks of the slaves at the first rice plantation he saw, about sixty miles from Charleston, South Carolina. He said that slaves were better off in Virginia than in Louisiana; and that in Georgia some slaves were allowed to select their own work, a step towards manumission.[3] Blane also makes a comparison between the Northern and Southern slave states in 1822, to the disadvantage of the latter.[4] Yet John Finch (1823) states that the condition in our Southern states was better than that in the West Indies.[5]

The free negroes at the South were little better off than the slaves, and many observers thought their condition worse. Thomas Hamilton, a Scotchman, wrote (1829 or 1830) that the negroes were slaves over the whole of the United States, so far as equal rights were concerned; that the law left the free negro "*a masterless slave.*" [6]

One indication of the condition of the colored race is the presence or absence of schools or churches for their secular and religious education. In many of the slave states there were laws prohibiting the education of the slaves, and equally of the free blacks, who were nearly always under the regulations of the Black Code. The reason

[1] Lieut. Francis Hall: "Travels in Canada and the United States," pp. 247, 321, 324–328, 329.

[2] James Flint: "Letters from America," p. 116.

[3] Adam Hodgson: "Letters from North America," English edition, I. 24, 25, 41, 112, 308. The American edition in one volume was unauthorized and imperfect. See English edition, Preface, p. vi.

[4] William Newnham Blane: "An Excursion through the United States and Canada," pp. 201–205.

[5] John Finch: "Travels in the United States and Canada," p. 240.

[6] Thomas Hamilton: "Men and Manners in America," pp. 57, 58.

was obvious: education would rouse the slaves from their quiet, and make severe penalties necessary.[1] Still there were schools for colored children at the South: an adult negro school in Baltimore in 1820 had one hundred and eighty pupils; there were six hundred negroes in the Sunday Schools of the city, who had formed themselves into a Bible Association, and been received into connection with the Baltimore Bible Society.[2] In 1825 a day and night school for colored persons was advertised in Baltimore, with English branches, and also Latin and French;[3] in 1829 an "African Free School" was established in the same city, where from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy scholars were taught every Sunday;[4] not long after a school for girls of color was opened by a religious society of colored women;[5] in 1830 a school for poor children of both sexes is mentioned as an object of benevolence, by nine signers, among whom were John Breckinridge and Daniel Raymond.[6] Probably such schools existed elsewhere.[7]

But little mention is made of colored church-members at the South, or of churches composed of negroes.[8] Only one Methodist church is named: one in Charleston, South Carolina, which, a few years before 1813, had eighteen hundred members, of whom it was supposed that more than fifteen hundred were negroes.[9] Baptist churches were somewhat more numerous: one in Augusta, Georgia, was prosperous, although it had decreased in membership since its organization; it had in 1813 less than four hundred members.[10] There were three colored Baptist churches in Savannah, Georgia, in 1813; one, founded about 1775, had fifteen hundred

[1] American Jurist, vii. 18; John Duncan: "Travels through Part of the United States and Canada," 2. 334.

[2] Adam Hodgson: "Letters from North America," 2. 218.

[3] "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," 5. 56.

[4] *Ibid.* 10. 18. [5] *Ibid.* 10. 142. [6] *Ibid.* 10. 151.

[7] The facts that the only contemporary periodical during the most of these years, which was devoted to these topics, was published in Baltimore, and that but few papers and periodicals of that day are now extant, may account for the prominence of Baltimore. For further references in books of travel to the condition and treatment of slaves see, for example, Adam Hodgson: "Letters from North America," pp. 24, 25, 46; Estwick Evans: "A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles," pp. 219, 222, 223, 225; E. Howitt: "Selections from Letters Written during a Tour through the United States," pp. 79, 312; W. Faux: "Memorable Days in America," p. 68; C. D. Arfwedson: "The United States and Canada," 1. 238–240, 308, 323, 327, 331–335, 340, 351, 352, 425, 429. See also the "Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery," for 1826, pp. 33, 36.

[8] Benedict ("General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 2. 194, 207) says that there were a good many blacks in the churches at the South.

[9] *Ibid.* 2. 213. [10] *Ibid.* 2. 193.

members, all colored; the pastor was "working his time out," his predecessor having bought his freedom after beginning to preach. A second church, established in 1802, had, in 1813, three hundred members, a very comfortable house, and a pastor who had worked his time out. The third church, an offshoot of the first, founded in 1803, was quite small.[1] In 1822 there were two Baptist churches in Petersburg, Virginia, belonging to people of color, and an African Missionary Society, also composed of negroes.[2]

The elements of the anti-slavery contest during the period between 1808 and 1831 differed greatly from those of the contest before that time. The efforts of the anti-slavery workers were put forth in six directions, mainly, with varying success, and with varying energy.

1. The foreign slave trade had been one of the chief points of attack in the earlier period, but was now prohibited by law, and although it was carried on for many years after 1808, in face of all prohibitions and penalties, it was under the ban of law, no longer open to discussion. But the neglect to enforce the law was extremely harmful to the cause, and to the nation, for, as Dubois says: "Poor enforcement, moreover, in the years 1808 to 1820 meant far more than at almost any other period; for these years were, all over the European world, a time of stirring economic change, and the set which forces might then take would in a later period be unchangeable without a cataclysm." [3]

2. The closing of the foreign slave trade opened another field of attack on the system, for the domestic trade took on an impetus which made it, almost before the watchers were aware, a formidable bulwark of slavery. As early as 1808 the "border states" where the labor of slaves was somewhat less profitable had begun to direct their attention to the breeding of slaves for the Southern markets, where the hard work and the unhealthful climate together made a constant demand for fresh material.

3. Another important element of the anti-slavery contest was the struggle over the admission of Missouri, which brought to the front the question of the extension of the area legally open to slavery.

[1] Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 2. 189–193.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 161.

[3] W. E. B. Dubois: "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade," p. 109.

Though the territorial problem had been under discussion in different phases ever since the adoption of the Constitution, it was not till after the War of 1812 that its seriousness became manifest.

4. The reverse of the question of limiting slavery where it existed was that of allowing slavery where it had been prohibited by law. A large number of the inhabitants of Indiana Territory petitioned Congress for permission to establish slavery, and put slavery on the defensive. Even before 1808 the territorial Legislature passed legislation [1] scarcely consistent with the Ordinance of 1787; and had the decision been in the hands of the people of the territory we might have seen a sharp and bitter struggle in Indiana. In Illinois such a struggle actually came in the early twenties, and anti-slavery sentiment prevented the legal admission of slavery into a state where it had been prohibited.

5. Over slavery in the District of Columbia Congress had complete control, should it choose to exercise it; and after 1809, when the first petition on the subject during this period was presented, anti-slavery took the offensive by the effort to procure the passage of emancipation laws, and thus to prohibit slavery where it had formerly been allowed.

6. The question of fugitive slaves arose as soon as the nation came into existence, and was registered in the Constitution, but from 1808 to 1831 the opposition to the fugitive slave law was one of the smaller incidents of the struggle. But the Underground Railroad had an existence in fact, if not in name, as early as 1786, and there were never wanting those who gave aid to fugitives.[2]

It has often been claimed that immediate emancipation was not demanded by any of the anti-slavery men before Garrison. This statement cannot stand; but it is true that the majority of the opponents of slavery in this period advocated gradual emancipation, and expressed a disbelief in the possibility of effecting immediate abolition, or a belief that it would be harmful to black and white alike. The minority advocated the immediate cessation of slavery, and it was strongest in the Northern, especially in the Northwestern states.

[1] Annals of Congress, 10th Congress, 1st Session, 1331; see also Mary S. Locke: "Anti-slavery in America, 1619–1808," § 170.

[2] Wilbur H. Siebert: "Light on the Underground Railroad," in the "American Historical Review" for April, 1896, p. 460.

CHAPTER II

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOUTH: MEN OF PROMINENCE

During the period between 1808 and 1831 many Southerners were trying to throw off or to lessen the burden of slavery, while the large proportion of Northerners were apathetic. On the other hand, long before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, even before the doctrine of immediate emancipation was advocated by Garrison in Lundy's "Genius," extreme delicacy had appeared in the South on the subject of slavery. A close examination of all the sources upon which we can found a judgment as to the attitude of the South on the subject of slavery makes it plain that neither of these views commonly held is without foundation.

While it is true that of the large proportion of the Southerners who advocated emancipation and abolition we know nothing, or no more than the name alone,[1] of some few we have a fuller account, and some prominent clergymen, politicians and literary men are found in the anti-slavery ranks. David Rice, a Southern clergyman, the most of whose life was passed during the period before 1808, still exercised an influence in his later years. His attitude on the subject may be seen from a speech before the Kentucky Constitutional Convention, which, though uttered in 1792, was republished in 1812 and 1862, in each of the other great anti-slavery periods. In this he stigmatized slavery as "injustice and robbery," and owners of slaves as "licensed robbers." "The first thing to be done is To RESOLVE UNCONDITIONALLY TO PUT AN END TO SLAVERY IN THIS STATE." [2]

David Barrow, a Virginian by birth, was publicly expelled from an association of Baptist ministers in Kentucky "for preaching emancipation." In a pamphlet entitled "Involuntary, Unmerited,

[1] A list of names found in connection with anti-slavery will be found in Appendixes A and B.

[2] Rev. Robert Davidson: "History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky," p. 71; Rev. David Rice: "Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy," edition of 1862, pp. 3, 9, 12. Capitals as in the original.

Perpetual, Absolute, Hereditary Slavery Examined, on the Principles of Nature, Reason, Justice, Policy, and Scripture," he is said to have especially denounced the inconsistency of the use of religious formulas in connection with the bequest of slaves, and to have advocated immediate emancipation.[1]

John D. Paxton, born and educated in Virginia, was for some time pastor in Virginia, and later in Kentucky. He believed in the "moral evil of slavery and the duty of Christians to aid them and free them," and was a member of the Presbyterian Assembly which denounced slavery in 1818. In 1826 he gave offense to his congregation at Cumberland, Virginia, and was dismissed from his charge, for his essays on slavery in the "Family Visitor," a religious paper. Just after he had been obliged to leave this pastorate he wrote his "Letters on Slavery" for the purpose of justifying himself with the public. Owing to some excitement, the nature of which is not mentioned, the publication of these "Letters" was delayed till 1833. In the Appendix he printed the article which gave offence to his people. In this he said that the Golden Rule forbids slavery, and compared the sin of defrauding another of his property to the sin of slaveholding, to the great disadvantage of the latter. The "Letters" were written "to prove . . . the moral evil of slavery and the duty of Christians" to free the slaves. He declares slavery contrary to: — I. The fundamental principles of our civil institutions. (a) The right to personal liberty, and the other "inalienable rights" contended for in our Declaration of Independence. (b) The right to judgment in the courts by disinterested persons. (c) The right to have the child free from the results of the parents' crimes or misfortunes. (d) The right to property. II. Natural relations: — Husband and wife; parent and child; and the relation of the human being to God.[2]

The stinging words of Jefferson on slavery are widely quoted, and his work before 1808 has often been mentioned. During the

[1] The fullest account of this pamphlet is found in Benedict: "General History of the Baptists," edition of 1813, 2. 248, 250. The exact date of the publication of Barrow's book is not mentioned, but from the context we may judge it to be in 1807–1809. The pamphlet is probably not extant, since careful search and inquiry have failed to bring it to light; the wording of the title and description of its contents must therefore rest on the authority of Benedict. A David Barrow of Kentucky was mentioned in The Genius of Universal Emancipation, in 1821.

[2] John D. Paxton: "Letters on Slavery." See especially the preface, and pp. 3, 53–59, 195–203. See also a review of the "Letters" with some details of his life, in the Christian Quarterly Spectator, vol. 5, p. 631 (for Dec. 1833); and also, Samuel J. May: "Some Recollections of our Anti-Slavery Conflict," pp. 10, 11.

latter part of his life he took no active part in the anti-slavery campaign, although often asked to do so. His words of refusal, however, show his sympathy with the cause, as well as his somewhat erroneous views as to methods. It is in a letter to John Holmes, on the Missouri Question, written in April, 1820, that we find the phrases so often quoted: "We have the wolf by the ears"; "a firebell in the night"; the disadvantages of a "geographical line"; and the advantageous results of "diffusion." [1]

Henry Clay, not usually associated in our minds with anti-slavery, showed at many times an interest in the slaves, and sympathy for them, although it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain his true position on the subject. In 1797, at the risk of losing the popular favor so desired by him as a young lawyer with aspirations for political preferment, he advocated the insertion of an article on gradual emancipation in the Kentucky constitution; and he often volunteered as advocate for slaves bringing action for their liberty. In 1827 and again in 1829 he referred to his efforts for gradual emancipation in 1797 with expressions of the deepest satisfaction that he had had a share in the good work, though the result had not been what they desired; in 1829 he states his opinion that the South had fallen behind the North in agriculture, manufactures and general prosperity, and that the reason was to be found in the existence of slavery. In 1827 he used the strongest of words in expressing the opposition to slavery inherent in every man: "We are reproached with doing mischief by the agitating of this question. . . . If they would repress all tendencies toward liberty and ultimate emancipation . . . they must go back to the era of our liberty and independence, and muzzle the cannon which thunders its annual joyous return. They must revive the slave trade with all its train of atrocities. They must blow out the moral lights around us, and extinguish that greatest torch of all which America presents to a benighted world, pointing the way to their rights, their liberties, and their happiness. And when they have achieved all these purposes, the work will yet be incomplete. They must penetrate the human soul and eradicate the light of reason, and the love of liberty. Then, and not till then, when universal darkness and despair prevail, can you perpetuate slavery and re-

[1] Elihu B. Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 24–27; Henry S. Randall: "Life of Thomas Jefferson," 3. 456, 643–645; see also pp. 498, 499.

press all sympathies and all humane and benevolent efforts among freemen, in behalf of the unhappy portion of our race doomed to bondage." However in 1830 he refused to be the leader in a society for gradual abolition in Kentucky, and advised his friends to do the same; and later still he expressed himself as having no sympathy for the "incendiary spirit of immediate emancipation" which he found in the new anti-slavery party.[1]

Another prominent man of the South who later identified himself with the anti-slavery cause was James G. Birney, a Kentuckian by birth. He was a lawyer, prominent in the politics of both Kentucky and Alabama, in both of which states he was instrumental in the passage of acts designed to improve the condition of the slaves. Yet Birney was not an abolitionist until after 1832; he was a slaveholder, with, apparently, no thought of interfering with slavery as an institution, although, as he himself said, he could not remember a time when he thought slavery to be right. He confined his efforts to checking importation, abolishing slave markets, and securing kind treatment for the slaves. He never bought a slave in the market, and only sold those he owned when he found there was no other way to ensure their kind treatment, since he himself must rely upon an overseer. Mr. Birney was at this time a good representative of many of the Southern slaveholders of the period, who, although firmly convinced that slavery was an evil, did not yet see clearly the true means for its removal.[2]

One of the most efficient workers in Maryland was Daniel Raymond, a lawyer of high standing. Three times he stood as the abolition candidate for the House of Delegates of Maryland, and although never elected, the number of votes cast for him shows some strength of anti-slavery opinion in Baltimore. In 1819 he published a pamphlet on the Missouri Question, in which he said: "It is admitted by all parties, slaveholders or not, that slavery is the greatest curse our country is afflicted with — it is a foul stain on our national escutcheon, a canker which is corroding the moral and political vitals of our country. There is but one voice on the subject, and that is the voice of condemnation, as an enormous and

[1] Calvin Colton: "The Life and Times of Henry Clay," pp. 39, 189, 190; Epes Sargent: "Life of Henry Clay," pp. 20, 21; Carl Schurz: "Life of Henry Clay," I. 30, 31, 181, 304; Address before the Kentucky Colonization Society, at Frankfort, Ky., Dec. 17, 1829, pp. 7, 8; William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 98–101. See also below, p. 35.

[2] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 24, 34, 38, 40.

an alarming evil." The difference in opinion was in the remedy; he himself did not believe in diffusion, nor in forcible emancipation by law. Raymond published two books on Political Economy, in both of which he discussed slavery, as a detriment to the public prosperity and the cause of the comparative poverty of the South. In the first of these he uses the strong expression that when all the evils from America, including slavery, are thought of, one almost regrets that America was discovered. He considered that slavery was no more "inevitable" than the depraved state of man, and its existence was no justification.[1]

Daniel Bryan, a member of the Virginia Legislature in 1820, spoke very strongly against some excessively pro-slavery resolutions on restriction in Missouri. He used very strong arguments, one of which was that if an American had the right to buy an African, an African had the right to buy an American. Many poems from his pen are quoted by Bourne, in his "The Book and Slavery Irreconcileable." The following is among the more striking:

"Point to me the man,
Who will not lift his voice against the trade
In human souls and blood, and I pronounce,
That he nor loves his country, nor his God.
Is he a *Christian* then? who holds in bonds
His brethren; cramps the vigour of their minds;
Usurps entire dominion o'er their wills,
Bars from their souls the light of moral day,
The image of the great Eternal Spirit
Obliterating thence? Before your God,
Whose holy eye pervades the secret depths
Of every heart, do you who hold enthrall'd
Your fellow-being's liberty, believe
That you are guiltless of a DAMNING CRIME?
Be undeceived — and cleanse from guilt and blood
Your crimson'd conscience, and polluted hands." [2]

John Randolph of Virginia made a speech in Congress in 1816 on the "infamous traffic" in slaves in the District of Columbia,

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 82, 83; Daniel Raymond: "The Missouri Question," p. 3; "Thoughts on Political Economy," 1820 (see especially pp. 434–461); "Elements of Political Economy," 1823 (see especially 1. 54; 2. 356). For some speeches of Raymond, see The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 36, 37, etc.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 145; George Bourne: "The Book and Slavery Irreconcileable," p. 4; see also pp. 6, 14 and 95.

and wished an end put to it by Act of Congress. Later he expressed his abhorrence of the institution; declared it a curse to the master; and prophesied retribution to the whites: "'Do as you would be done by.' Every man who leaves that great high road will have the chalice which he himself has poisoned — the chalice of justice, even-handed justice, put to his own lips by the God of nature, who does not require abolition societies to carry his purpose into execution." Compare with these strong words his attitude in 1807, when he vehemently denounced a bill intended to restrict in some measure that "infamous traffic" the interstate slave trade.[1]

William H. Crawford of Georgia, a prominent slaveholder, wrote to Governor Coles of Illinois, during the struggle in that state: "Is it possible that your Convention is intended to introduce slavery into the state? I acknowledge if I were a citizen I should oppose it with great earnestness; where it has ever been introduced it is extremely difficult to get rid of, and ought to be treated with great delicacy." [2]

William Drayton of South Carolina, in a debate in the House in 1828, said: "Slavery, in the abstract, I condemn and abhor. I know no terms too strong to express my reprobation of those who would introduce it into a nation. . . . However ameliorated by compassion, — however corrected by religion, — still slavery is a bitter draught, and the chalice which contains the nauseous potion is perhaps more frequently pressed by the lips of the master than of the slave." [3]

Thomas H. Benton, associated with nothing less than with anti-slavery, said in 1829, in the midst of a bitter invective against Northern agitators: "To them I can truly say that slavery in the abstract has but few advocates or defenders in the slaveholding states." [4]

It is especially interesting to find a quotation from a speech by Roger B. Taney, as counsel for the defense of Rev. Jacob Gruber, in 1819. Gruber, a Methodist clergyman, was on trial for "attempting to excite insubordination and insurrection among slaves" by a sermon on the evils of slavery. Taney acknowledged all the

[1] Annals of Congress, 14th Congress, 1st Session, 1115; "Views of American Slavery a Century Ago," Appendix, p. 134; Niles' Weekly Register, 30. 453, 454.

[2] Elihu B. Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," p. 131; Burke A. Hinsdale: "The Old Northwest," p. 363.

[3] Register of Debates, 20th Congress, 1st Session, 974.

[4] Thomas H. Benton: "Thirty Years' View," 1. 136.

facts alleged, but asserted that there was no offence. He denounced slavery, and expressed his strong hope that it would be effectually, though it must be gradually, wiped away. While it remained it was a blot on our national character, and every friend of humanity must do what he could to lighten the burden, and better the condition of the slaves.[1]

A most valuable aid to the anti-slavery party was William Swaim of North Carolina, a gifted man. He assisted Lundy in the publication of the "Genius" for about six months, in 1827 and 1828; and later became editor of the "Greensboro' (N. C.) Patriot," in which he published much anti-slavery matter, and advocated editorially the manumission of the slaves. He held firmly to his course, notwithstanding great opposition and even threats of violence. Threatening letters he printed and answered, and public speakers tried in vain to cope with him. In March, 1830, Swaim, as one of the managers of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, wrote an address to the people of the state on the evils of slavery. This was reprinted in 1860, in the form of a facsimile of the original edition. The address was a long argument against slavery, and as the product of the Manumission Society will be more fully discussed.[2]

While many men of Northern birth who made their homes in the South became even more fiercely pro-slavery than the native-born Southerners, a number carried with them a firm conviction of the wrong of slavery and did not hesitate to express it. Of these, Elisha Tyson, a native of Philadelphia living in Baltimore, was one of the most active, early becoming a member of the Maryland Anti-Slavery Society. He consecrated the best energies of his life to the slaves, and retired somewhat early from business that he might devote his whole attention to the abolition movement. His entire life proved that he regarded slavery as a sin to be repented of and abandoned instantly. He confined himself, however, almost entirely to the protection of slaves in the courts, and the procuring their freedom by legal means. Judge Nicholson of Baltimore County was of great assistance to Tyson, so far as he was able. A prejudiced pro-slavery man, from the most pro-slavery part of Maryland, he was thoroughly converted to anti-

[1] "Views of American Slavery a Century Ago," p. 136.

[2] Stephen B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 240. See below, pp. 123, 124.

slavery through the instrumentality of Tyson, and when it could possibly be made consistent with his conscience he decided in favor of the slave. Other judges are mentioned as assisting in the good work, but not by name, as they were living at the time of writing. Tyson was interested in forming the "Protection Society of Maryland" to secure to negroes their legal rights and privileges. His characteristic modesty is shown by the fact that, although this society came together at his invitation, he absented himself from the meeting, lest others might think he sought praise. The work of Tyson was not confined to the section where he lived, but extended over the whole of Maryland, partly by the rescue of slaves entitled to their liberty; and partly in the passage of laws to better their condition. He is said to have rescued at least two thousand from illegal slavery. His opinions are thus summed up by his biographer: (1) Since slaveholders can manumit slavery is not a necessary evil; (2) The sin of continuing slavery is not excused by its introduction by ancestors; (3) If the free are worse off than the slave it is not because of freedom.[1]

By far the most prominent Southern worker of this period — indeed we may fairly say the most prominent worker in the country — was a Quaker born in New Jersey, Benjamin Lundy. He is said to have been "the first to establish anti-slavery periodicals, to deliver anti-slavery lectures, and probably to encourage societies for free labor." This, while not all literally true, is sufficiently so for a general statement, since he was the most active worker of his time in these directions, and his paper was the first periodical devoted exclusively to anti-slavery which was continued more than two years. Lundy became an abolitionist during a residence in Wheeling, Virginia, at the age of nineteen; and thereafter devoted his best energies to the cause of the slave. In 1815 he organized "The Union Humane Society" at St. Clairsville, Ohio, where he was then living. In 1824 he delivered a number of lec-

[1] "The Life of Tyson. By a Citizen of Baltimore" (John S. Tyson), was written in 1825 to prove from the success of Elisha Tyson the inadvisability of immediate emancipation. It is full of gross errors; for example, on page 102 the Missouri struggle is spoken of as occurring in 1822; Tyson is said to have been 60 years old in 1800 or 1801 (pp. 62, 96); about 1822, he was 70 (p. 106); while in 1824, at the time of his death (p. 121) he was 75. This last age is probably correct. There is a question, therefore, how much dependence can be put upon any of its dates. There is some question, also, as to the date of Tyson's retirement from business, and consequent entire devotion to the cause of the slave. In this Life the generally accepted date, 1818, is given in the text (p. 99), but changed in the errata to 1798. A study of the text leaves one uncertain which date is correct, although 1818 seems much the more probable.

tures on the subject of slavery, and began his real work of organization. His first public lecture was at Deep Creek, North Carolina, where at an adjourned meeting a society was organized. He held fifteen or twenty more meetings, using every opportunity to obtain audiences. As a result twelve or fourteen societies were formed before he left North Carolina. He then traveled through Virginia, holding meetings and organizing societies. During the remainder of his life he lectured in almost every state of the Union, and was the principal agent in forming anti-slavery societies in various parts of the country, often in slaveholding districts, and sometimes composed in part of slaveholders.[1]

Early in 1828 Lundy made a journey to the North, stopping at Philadelphia, New York, Providence and Boston, to lecture, and hold meetings to discuss the formation of anti-slavery societies. He had small success. During a second visit in the latter part of the same year he first met Garrison. A quotation from "The Journal of the Times" for December 12, 1828, gives Garrison's estimate of Lundy at this time. He is disappointed at seeing so diminutive a person; "instead of being able to withstand the tide of public opinion it would at first seem doubtful whether he could sustain a temporary conflict with the winds of heaven. And yet he has explored nineteen of the twenty-four states — from the Green Mountains of Vermont to the banks of the Mississippi — multiplied anti-slavery societies in every quarter, put every petition in motion relative to the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, everywhere awakened the slumbering sympathies of the people, and begun a work, the completion of which will be the salvation of his country. . . . It should be mentioned, too, that he has sacrificed several thousand dollars in this holy cause." It is interesting, in connection with the account of his many lectures in all parts of the country, to read the following extract from "The Liberator" of September 20, 1839, after the death of Lundy: "He was not a good public speaker. His voice was too feeble, his utterance too rapid, to interest or inform an audience, yet he never spoke wholly in vain."[2]

[1] Thomas Earl: "The Life, Travels and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy," pp. 14, 16, 21; Edward Needles: "An Historical Memoir of the Pennsylvania Society for . . . Abolition of Slavery," pp. 83, 84; "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879," I. 87; William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 390.

[2] Earl: "Life of Lundy," p. 25; "William Lloyd Garrison," I. 92, 93, and Note. For connection of Garrison and Lundy see below, pp. 68–70.

Lundy began his editorial work against slavery, the branch of his labors for which he is best known, in 1817, by the selection of articles for publication in "The Philanthropist," a paper edited by Charles Osborn at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. Later he was offered a partnership with Osborn, which he gladly accepted, but at once gave up in order to devote himself heart and soul to the Missouri struggle. Early in 1821 he began the publication of his own paper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." This continued, with a few brief lapses, until 1836. He died in 1839, "after twenty-three years of unparalleled labors for the promotion of the abolition of slavery." [1] The "Genius" will be hereafter considered, but a few extracts from such writings as are undoubtedly his will illustrate his point of view.

It is not easy to be sure of the exact position which he held on the anti-slavery question, or, more particularly, on the question of how to abolish slavery. It is generally claimed that he was not in any degree an advocate of immediate or general emancipation; yet he was willing to allow arguments for immediate emancipation to be inserted in his paper, even before the time of Garrison. So far as we can judge from his writings, it would seem that he was uncompromisingly opposed to slavery, on all grounds; that he relied on gradual emancipation, as the only means which would commend itself to the requisite number of people to ensure its success; that he believed in a constant discussion of slavery, and a constant denunciation by its opponents; that he believed in an immediate abandonment of the slave trade, and the immediate passage of all possible laws for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, as tending towards ultimate emancipation. Later he became an advocate of the colonization scheme, preferring, however, to send the negroes to Hayti.

In the first volume of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation" he formulated a plan for emancipation which he presented as distinctly his own. This plan is in seven articles, and might be said to deserve the name of immediate gradualism. 1. The national government should totally abolish slavery in all districts

[1] "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879," 1. 88; Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 391; Needles: "Historical Memoir of the Pennsylvania Society," p. 83. The last-named says that he purchased Osborn's paper, and devoted it entirely to anti-slavery under the new title; but according to Earl, "Life of Lundy," p. 19, Osborn sold it to Elisha Bates, who "did not come up to Lundy's standard of anti-slavery," and therefore left Lundy with no medium of publication. For a fuller account of the "Genius," see below, pp. 45–47.

over which Congress has exclusive control, and receive no new states without constitutional prohibition of slavery. 2. Let transportation of slaves from one state to another be prohibited under severest penalties. 3. Let the free states agree to receive blacks on the same footing as whites. 4. Let all blacks who are willing to leave the country be aided to do so. (Note this is not compulsory colonization.) 5. Let all slaveholding states make simultaneous arrangements for gradual but certain emancipation, and repeal their laws against the blacks. 6. Let the regulation concerning slave representation be immediately abolished; and 7. Let a regular convention annually settle the details of a regular system of operations.[1] Notwithstanding the immediateness of this plan for gradual emancipation, Lundy said in 1823, in an editorial: "Nobody urges an immediate liberation of the slave," [2] and again in 1824: "In short, the end and aim of this publication is the gradual, though total abolition of slavery in the United States of America." [3] In 1825 he presented another plan for gradual emancipation, quite different from that given in 1821; perhaps because his readers were not ready for even so moderate a plan as the first proposed. This second plan consisted of a system of co-operative labor on land purchased for the purpose, until the negroes had worked out their purchase money, when they were to be colonized — somewhere. Here he advocated compulsory colonization.[4]

Whether Lundy believed in gradual or immediate emancipation, he most certainly believed in abolition, not in the mere amelioration of the condition of the slaves. In 1825 he gave it distinctly as his opinion that the prohibition of the domestic slave trade without the abolition of slavery would be "a broken reed." [5] And in 1829, on the subject of Texas, he uses exceedingly strong language: "We can no longer disguise the fact *that the advocates of slavery are resolved, at all hazards, to obtain the territory in question* [Texas], *if possible*, FOR THE AVOWED PURPOSE OF ADDING FIVE OR SIX MORE SLAVE HOLDING STATES TO THIS UNION!!! . . . It is now time for the people of the United States who are opposed to the further extension of this horrible evil . . . to AROUSE FROM THEIR LETHARGY. . . .

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 33, 65, 87, 118, 133.
[2] *Ibid.* 2. 50. [3] *Ibid.* 4. 2. [4] *Ibid.* 5. 58. [5] *Ibid.* 5. 363.

[Texas] is now a FREE STATE. But the *avowed* design of Senator *Benton* and others of his political clan, is to change . . . and introduce the slave system with all its barbarities, again." If Texas were added free, it would be a good plan and a good place for the blacks to emigrate. "But a GREATER CURSE could not scarcely befall our country than annexation," if it is to be a slave state.[1]

These are but examples of the words and deeds of the men in the South who, during the period under discussion, could in some measure be called the friends of the slave. These are the words of some of the opponents of the anti-slavery cause, who yet felt that slavery, at least in the abstract, was a thing to be deplored, and who were willing to advocate measures for the bettering of the condition of the wretched people.

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 14. Italics and capitals as in the original. This last is signed "L.," and therefore is distinctly his, and not Garrison's. See the "Proposals" for the publication of the paper, below, pp. 45, 46.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOUTH: POPULAR SENTIMENT

The epoch we are studying may fairly be divided into four distinct periods, differing greatly in their main characteristics, and especially in the intensity of feeling displayed in the anti-slavery contest. The first two periods, from 1808 to 1815, and from 1815 to 1819, have no marked characteristics. The South seemed to lead in anti-slavery societies and speeches, and the delicacy so often spoken of rarely appeared. From a study of these periods alone it seems possible that an active campaign against slavery during that time would have been effective without the great struggle of 1831 to 1861. Apparently, however, it needed a stronger wave of excitement to induce men to begin such an active campaign, and, judging from the effect of the struggle at other periods, the feeling of the South would have been roused in opposition. The third period was that of the Missouri struggle, 1819 to 1821. During this time men on both sides became bitter, and party feeling ran high. The slavery contest became a political question, and remained in politics thereafter so long as slavery remained in the Union. The third period left the people in a very different condition from that in which it found them; the anti-slavery workers were much more active, but the opposition to their work became steadily more distinct. During the fourth period, 1821 to 1831, we find many changes of attitude, both in the societies and in individuals. So convinced, so eager, so aggressive, so unceasing, so uncompromising were some of the anti-slavery agitators, that the opening of the long contest might be dated a decade earlier than it is usually reckoned. There was no period of sleep between 1821 and 1831; there was no period of retrogression or of general inaction. It was the period of great contests over slavery; of persistent activity in the "American Convention"; of stirring and vigorous publications.

The scantiness of the material from which we can judge of the first of these periods shows that it was uneventful. From 1808 to 1815 was a time of struggle for the national honor, and almost for the national existence; nevertheless the anti-slavery interest, while dormant, was not dead; the reports of the "American Convention," and of some of the Abolition Societies, the books and pamphlets published during these years, are as denunciatory of the system as those of the earlier or later periods; but only a few such were, apparently, published, and unfortunately no discussion of slavery by a traveler at the South. Only three books seem of sufficient importance to be noted here. "The Wandering Philanthropist," published in Philadelphia in 1810, purported to be the letters of a Chinaman traveling in the United States, discovered and edited by George Fowler of Virginia. Though slavery was not the Chinaman's principal topic of discussion, he gave to the institution some attention, manifesting his feeling of the discrepancy between our talk of liberty and slavery. One letter is confined entirely to the topic, and rehearses the cruelties seen by the author: beatings, scanty food and clothing, and hard labor; acknowledging, however, that all masters were not alike. Fowler believed the negro race inferior to the white, but thought that perhaps with the same advantages some might prove equal in literary worth; that in their present state of degradation and subordination it was impossible to judge correctly of their possibilities.[1]

In the same year, 1810, Lewis Dupré printed at Charleston, South Carolina, a pamphlet in favor of progressive emancipation, under the title "An Admonitory Picture, and a Solemn Warning principally addressed to professing Christians in the Southern States." In his preface he stated it as his conviction that the great transgression of the South Atlantic states would lead to overwhelming judgments of God. The pamphlet is an argument, or rather a harangue, intended to prove the moral wrong of slaveholding. The evils of slavery are depicted, and much is made of the love of God as the foundation of human society.[2] A second pamphlet, to which the first was an introduction, is a plan for emancipation, or the articles of a society which he wished to form

[1] George Fowler: "The Wandering Philanthropist," pp. 46–49, 285, etc.
[2] Lewis Dupré: "An Admonitory Picture, and a Solemn Warning," pp. 9, 11, 12, 18, etc.

under the name of "The Virginia and Carolina Emancipation Society." This was "to be composed of all descriptions of Christian people in the United States, Whether they be Rich or Poor, Free or Bond, White or Coloured." The constitution consisted of thirty articles, and the plan is too complex to be considered in detail here. In general it included the purchase of slaves under certain conditions; hiring them out to earn their freedom; and arrangements for their supervision during the period of probation and after their real freedom. Slaves joining the society should have the preference; no slave should be sold by the society, but if one bought proved unworthy of freedom he might be exchanged; no corporal punishment should be allowed; and all the slaves should be vegetarians![1]

In 1814 Col. John Taylor of Caroline County, Virginia, in an essay on agriculture, decried slavery as the cause of much evil to agriculture, although he did not see any way to remove it. He advised giving the slaves a larger supply of comforts, but denounced Northern abolitionists.[2]

After the Treaty of Ghent, in December, 1814, travelers from England again began to visit the South, and to give their witness to the anti-slavery sentiment in that section. We are, therefore, better able to characterize the second of the periods under discussion. In Virginia, slavery found few supporters except among slave dealers and planters.[3] The Eastern and Central states, and "the most enlightened individuals" of all the states, continued to "wage the combat of humanity." Several slave states were ameliorating the condition of their slaves, and it was "sanguinely hoped by the friends of abolition that slavery" would "in time be extinct."[4] The citizens of Maryland deplored slavery, and made plans for its removal; the freedmen were recognized as free, and kidnappers were severely punished.[5] In Kentucky, slaveholders were heard to say that they wished there was not a slave in the country, but when a man "is tenacious of this sort of stock," or buys "at a high price," it is hard to believe his expressions against slavery. "A part of the finest feelings and the brightest talents in the Southern States are ranged on the side of humanity."[6] Palmer, an Eng-

[1] Dupré: "A Rational and Benevolent Plan, etc.," pp. 9 ff.
[2] Col. John Taylor: "Arator," pp. 57–67, 118, 122, etc.
[3] Lieut. Francis Hall: "Travels in Canada and the United States," p. 323.
[4] John Palmer: "Journal of Travels in the United States," pp. 158, 159.
[5] William T. Harris: "Remarks made during a Tour through the United States," p. 42.
[6] James Flint: "Letters from America," pp. 115, 167.

lish traveler, after giving some glimpses of public feeling as he saw it, expressed his opinion that in affixing the responsibility for the existence of slavery in the country, one ought to remember that slavery existed from the early beginning of the colonies, "and that since Americans have been free themselves, exertions to manumit slaves, and abolition societies have increased yearly." [1] Perhaps the clearest statement of the Southern feeling towards slavery during this period is given by Morris Birkbeck in reporting a conversation to which he listened in a Virginia tavern in 1817. "Negro slavery was the prevailing topic, the beginning, the middle and the end — an evil uppermost in every man's thoughts; which all deplored, many were anxious to fly, but for which no man can devise a remedy." [2] Several incidents showing the presence of sympathy for the blacks among the Southerners are reported in books of travel, and in other publications.[3]

When we pass to the period of the Missouri Compromise debates, we find much more material. Of course the larger part of the essays, magazine articles and speeches bear directly upon the struggle over Missouri, and the most of them confine themselves to the political aspect of that contest, but we find a little light thrown by them upon popular opinion at the South. In January, 1820, Ninian Edwards of Illinois, in the course of a speech on the Missouri Question, declared that "it is admitted by the friends of the restriction upon Missouri that the evils of slavery have been so constantly unfolding themselves as to cause it to be more and more deplored even in the States where it exists." [4] This belief in Southern anti-slavery is again expressed in Niles' information about the same time from "several gentlemen of high standing," that there was so strong an opposition to slavery in Kentucky "that the chief slaveholders had long feared to call a convention to alter the constitution, though much desired, lest measures should be adopted which might lead to a gradual emancipation." [5]

William Amphlett, an Englishman who later settled in Ohio, published in 1819 an "Emigrant's Directory" to the Western states, in which he said of Kentucky: "The worst of curses to any

[1] John Palmer: "Journal of Travels in the United States," pp. 158, 159.
[2] Morris Birkbeck: "Notes on a Journey in America," Eng. edition, p. 12.
[3] See also Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1817, p. 18; Francis Hall, pp. 321–326; Palmer, p. 19.
[4] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session.
[5] Niles' Weekly Register, 18. 27.

country, slavery — negro slavery, is a check to its rapid improvement, which is just beginning to be understood, when it is too late to profit by the discovery." [1] Hodgson, whose book of travels was published at about this time, wrote: "I pity the planters, who would many of them gladly put an end to this unhappy system, if they knew how to accomplish it." Many of the youth of Natchez, Mississippi, were educated at the North, and married Northerners. "One happy consequence is a degree of repugnance to the slave-system on the part of some of the younger members of the community and a growing desire to mitigate some of its severities on the part of others." [2] The sentiment prevailing in Virginia is well represented by the words of a resident of that state quoted by Duncan, who traveled there in 1819: "I could wish that we were rid of our slaves; but while they are slaves, our own safety requires that they should be kept in ignorance"; [3] and the feeling in the slave states as a whole is expressed by Niles in 1820: "Collectively the latter [those in the slave states] deprecate slavery as severely as the former [those in the free states], — but individual cupidity and rashness act against the common sentiment." [4]

In the next period, from 1821 to 1831, the partisans on both sides were far more active and bitter than before. The discussion in regard to the Missouri Compromise had aroused many persons on the subject; while others would not make the sacrifice required, and abandoned the cause of the slave. It was during this period that the first anti-slavery periodicals were issued; that the freemen of Illinois defeated the attempt of the slaveholders to secure that state; and that the anti-slavery party made an equally unsuccessful attempt to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. About this time, also, periodicals not directly concerned with slavery began to admit articles on the subject. In 1827 New York, by the emancipation of those not already free by the earlier gradual emancipation act, became a completely free state. This had a profound effect upon the people of New York, and had some effect upon the country at large.

[1] William Amphlett: "The Emigrant's Directory to the Western States of North America," p. 164.

[2] Adam Hodgson: "Letters from North America," 1. 27, 185, 186. (Eng. edition.)

[3] John M. Duncan: "Travels through part of the United States," 2. 334.

[4] Niles' Weekly Register, 9. 265.

Emancipation of slaves by individuals was not uncommon, and was often noted by the "Genius" and Niles' "Register." Unfortunately the way of the benevolent master was in many states so blocked that few could accomplish manumission. In 1823 the prospects of anti-slavery in Tennessee seemed bright, and a number of manumissions took place.[1] Caleb Rodney, acting Governor of Delaware, in a message in the same year, said that during the previous thirty years there had been in Delaware voluntary manumissions of more than three hundred slaves annually. He added that if the same course should be continued for the following thirty years to the extent of even one-fourth of the yearly average, slavery would cease to exist in Delaware.[2] The Delaware Abolition Society also spoke of the fact that without legislative aid public opinion was gradually doing the work of emancipation.[3] Several cases of manumissions in Virginia are given, the most detailed being that of David Minge, a young man of twenty-four or twenty-five, who emancipated all his slaves, paying their passage to Hayti, and supplying them with tools and money. His reason for the action was his belief in the wrong of slavery, which made them "a burden on his mind."[4] Between 1824 and 1826 there were two thousand slaves freed in North Carolina, and Maryland was expected soon to become a free state.[5]

The numbers of the "Genius" for these years are full of extracts from correspondents living in the various slave states, which show great activity on both sides in the struggle, and also show a decided, though gradual progress of anti-slavery opinion. From these extracts it is evident that friends of slavery in Kentucky and Missouri were in 1822 beginning to be alarmed because of the increase of the opponents of slavery, and attacked them by name in a pro-slavery paper, "The Columbian."[6] A news item of the time was: "A sensible and spirited writer in the Kentucky Reporter has come out against slavery in plain and manly terms. . . . We anticipate

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 169.

[2] *Ibid.* 2. 159.

[3] Minutes of the American Convention for 1823, p. 15. The statements as to the numbers of slaves do not, however, agree with the numbers as recorded in the census reports.

[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 129, 145; 5. 1, 9; Niles' Weekly Register, 28. 341. For other accounts of manumissions see the "Genius," 4. 178, 179; 5. 57, 61; and Niles, 20. 288; 28. 336, 341, 353; 30. 338, 447.

[5] See William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 80.

[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 49.

the best effects from the bold, fearless, yet prudent discussion of the topic there." In his comment on the item Lundy said that there were many true philanthropists in Kentucky, and that they would soon do something more than write.[1] A writer in the Western Luminary during 1830 spoke of the fact that the people of Kentucky were generally finding slavery a burden and were looking for relief. "Something must be done quickly." He advised general emancipation by law, and exportation to Liberia.[2] In the volume of the "Genius" for 1830 claim is often made that the spirit of emancipation seemed to be gaining ground in Kentucky, and in some other states. Birney advocated a gradual emancipation act in Kentucky in 1830, and other influential slaveholders favored it. The resolution to call a convention to amend the constitution, the avowed purpose of which was to provide for abolition, was lost in the Legislature by only one vote.[3] The Kentucky Colonization Society reported that "the late disposition to voluntary emancipation" was so increasing that no general emancipation law would be necessary if an asylum for the freedmen were accessible."[4] An attempt to form a society in the same state, for the purpose of furthering gradual emancipation, although its membership consisted of persons of intelligence, wealth and influence, and some even of national reputation, failed for lack of a vigorous, earnest leader. Clay was asked to head the movement, but refused, and advised his friends to follow his example.[5]

Kentucky was not the only state where an emancipatory spirit was manifest in 1821 to 1831; the movement in Tennessee has already been referred to, and in 1829 a letter from a gentleman in that state said that memorials to Congress were being prepared by a convention, asking for abolition in the District of Columbia, and that a large number of signers had been obtained to a "common petition of this state" asking for gradual abolition, which would be presented before the state council.[6] Tennessee was watching with great interest the attempt to obtain gradual emancipation in Kentucky, and Lundy asserted that if Kentucky succeeded, and no "alarming consequences" followed, Tennessee would soon do the

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 69; quotation from the "United States Gazette." [2] *Ibid.* 11. 63.
[3] *Ibid.* 11. 64; Birney: "James G. Birney," pp. 96–100.
[4] African Repository, 6. 31 (May, 1830).
[5] See above, p. 20.
[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 41.

same.[1] Even in Virginia there were indications of a progress in public opinion in the direction of freedom. The "Genius" was more widely read; a private letter in 1825 expresses the opinion "that Virginia will not be a slaveholding state fifteen or twenty years hence"; and an anti-slavery man, brother-in-law of Edward Coles, was in 1826 elected to the Legislature of Virginia.[2]

Earnest workers for the cause of anti-slavery in North Carolina wrote to Lundy in 1823: "People's minds in this part of the country are becoming more and more enlightened and enlarged to understand the evils of slavery." The numbers of the "Genius" were being read, and while there was still a considerable "lukewarmness," yet they felt encouraged to continue the struggle.[3] The Manumission Society of North Carolina, in 1825, after a careful investigation of the opinions of the people, were sure that only one-twentieth were really opposed to emancipation, while one-thirtieth desired immediate emancipation.[4] In 1826 Edward Everett of Massachusetts was severely criticised by a resident of North Carolina for his speech in justification of slavery: "Slavery among our Southern politicians is almost universally acknowledged to be wrong in principle."[5] In this year, also, a member of the Manumission Society was elected to the Senate of North Carolina, and Daniel Raymond wrote: "In our sister state of North Carolina, the advocates of general emancipation are increasing with a rapidity unparalleled in the annals of the nation. It is believed that nearly three thousand citizens of that state have enrolled themselves as members of anti-slavery societies within a period of two years." It will be noticed that these two years are those just following Lundy's first lecture tour in North Carolina, when he set on foot the organization of the societies.[6]

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 11. 65, 66.

[2] *Ibid.* 5. 4 (monthly); see also 5. 126 (weekly); Elihu Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," p. 225.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 115, 147.

[4] Stephen B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 241; William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 78. The former gives the list as 2/30 desiring immediate emancipation, 4/30 supporting emigration, 8/30 neither thinking nor caring about the subject, 8/30 supporting gradual emancipation, and 9/30 opposing emancipation because it was impracticable, while only 3/30 were bitterly opposed to emancipation of any sort. He then gives the total of 36/30 as ready to support schemes of emancipation. Mr. Birney gives the proportions as very nearly or quite the same, and characterizes them as follows: 1/30 eager for immediate emancipation, 1/15 for colonization, 1/20 for gradual emancipation, 1/20 never thought about it, 1/20 bitterly opposed to emancipation, 3/20 think emancipation impracticable. So 3/5 were ready to help.

[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 354.

[6] *Ibid.* 6. 13; Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 83. See also the "Genius," 5. 414.

A letter from Arkansas, in 1826, accompanying subscriptions to the "Genius" says: "We are highly rejoiced . . . to find that our fellow citizens of the United States after so long a slumber, are at length beginning to awake from their lethargy, and to open an attentive ear to the loud calls of inflexible justice and the groans and cries of afflicted humanity." [1] The political press urged in this same year the recession of the District of Columbia to Maryland, because Congress possessed the power to abolish slavery there, and might be induced to exercise it.[2] It was only the next year, 1827, that Turnbull, in his violently pro-slavery book, "The Crisis," seemed to believe that if Congress were allowed to express its sentiment towards slavery it would decidedly favor the anti-slavery side.[3] James Fenimore Cooper said in 1828 that the Americans would gladly be rid of slavery, and that liberal sentiments towards the blacks were gaining ground in the South. In a note to the latter statement he adds that he does not mean that "every man becomes in some degree sensible of the evil, but that a vast number do, and of men, too, who are likely to have an effect upon legislation." In Maryland "the inhabitants begin to see that they would be richer and more powerful without their slaves than with them. This is the true entering wedge of the argument, and juster views of moral truth will be sure to follow convictions of interest, as they have followed and are still following emancipation further North." [4] Even in Georgia there were symptoms of alarm in 1830 relative to the increase of slavery.[5] The same year the statement is made in the "Genius" that a spirit of emancipation seemed to be gaining ground in North Carolina, Kentucky and Missouri. In this connection it is interesting to read that of the one hundred and thirty abolition societies in the United States in 1827, one hundred and six were in the slave states, while but four were in New England or New York.[6]

The evidence of travelers during these years is of much the same tenor. Welby, writing in 1821, said that with the exception of "a few of the old school" it was the "general sentiment of the best

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 390.
[2] The Alexandria Gazette.
[3] See Robert J. Turnbull (Brutus): "The Crisis," p. 129, etc.
[4] James Fenimore Cooper: "Notions of the Americans," 2. 262, 273, 274. (Am. edition.)
[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 142.
[6] See below, p. 116; also Appendix.

informed Americans that they should be better off without slaves"; [1] Finch, in 1823, found not a single individual who did not regret slavery and show a wish to remedy it; [2] Candler, in 1824, found the slaveholders of Virginia sensible of the evil, but the effort to free themselves was too great.[3] Captain Basil Hall, an English naval officer, found, in 1827, the planters in Virginia communicative, but his prejudice against slavery made him shy of introducing the subject. Almost every gentleman he met in the South had some project for mitigating the evils of slavery, but he never met one so hardy as to suppose it could be entirely removed. "That slavery is an evil in itself, and eminently an evil in its consequences, no men that I have ever met with are more ready to grant than most of the American planters." [4] He relates an incident also, showing the general feeling in Washington against the too common slave auctions. Thomas Hamilton, writing between 1829 and 1833, stated it as his opinion that Maryland was not likely to remain very long a slave state. He never conversed with an American who did not denounce slavery, but none knew any reasonable cure.[5]

[1] Adlard Welby: "A Visit to North America," p. 82.
[2] John Finch: "Travels in the United States," p. 240.
[3] Isaac Candler: "A Summary View of America," p. 255.
[4] Capt. Basil Hall: "Travels in North America," 3. 34–41, 76, 234.
[5] Thomas Hamilton: "Men and Manners in America," pp. 213, 321.

CHAPTER IV

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOUTH: ESSAYS, MAGAZINE ARTICLES AND NEWSPAPERS

THERE were very many speeches, essays and magazine articles in the South on the subject of slavery during the last great division of the period we have been discussing. A writer with the pseudonym "Nestor," in the Richmond Enquirer, in 1821, after comparing the prosperity of the young state Ohio with that of the oldest state, Virginia, to the disadvantage of the latter, said: "Slavery . . . is one great cause of all our misfortunes." He added that it was time to do something about it. His proposal, however, was nothing more radical than an act declaring that all involuntary servitude should cease in Virginia on January 1, 2000, with facilities for emigration to Hayti or Cuba![1] Another writer, in the St. Louis Enquirer, in the same year, had still another plan to propose: the purchase of the females by government, with the profits of the sales of the public lands.[2] Many were the plans presented, though none were, apparently, really tried.[3] A Virginian, in 1822, proposed that the citizens of the free states should be allowed to purchase slaves for a term of years, after which they should be set free. His idea was, probably, that the relief thus to be afforded to the congested states would make them more ready to free those remaining.[4] In the same year a plan much like that of Dupré[5] was presented by a Kentuckian. In 1825 no less than five different plans were mentioned in the "Genius" alone. One recommended emigration to Hayti, giving plans for the arrangement of expenses.[6] Another, probably that of Frances Wright, certainly conducted on the same prin-

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 21. 28; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 42. The editor of the Enquirer asked in a footnote, "What will be the situation of the slave-holding states when those events take place?" to which Lundy answers: "Dreadful in the extreme — free your country from the curse of slavery as quick as possible."

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 41.

[3] See *Ibid.* 1. 33.

[4] *Ibid.* 1. 137.

[5] See above, p. 31.

[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 165.

ciple, was an institution where emancipated slaves should be taught and trained for freedom.[1] A third plan, primarily intended for North Carolina, included the absolute prohibition of the importation and sale of slaves, and the emancipation of all *post nati*.[2] Still another, of local option flavor, had especial reference to Maryland: let there be a law passed allowing popular vote in each county once in five years on "Slavery or no slavery?" When a majority in any county vote for "no slavery," let a gradual emancipation law be passed for that county, and let it vote no more on the question. Gradually the northern counties would become free, and the beneficial effects would be seen and the idea spread.[3] But the fifth plan mentioned in this volume of the "Genius" seems the most practicable, had the people only been willing to adopt it. This, the plan for the purchase of days by the slave, proposed by Schoolcraft, was, in brief, as follows. The slave was to have assigned to him either a certain amount of daily work, or definite hours of labor, and all work in excess of the assigned amount was to be paid for at regular rates of wages. As soon as the slave had accumulated one-sixth of his estimated value he was to be allowed to purchase the entire use of one whole day in the week. The succeeding days were to be paid for in the same manner, but of course more rapidly as time went on, and the slave was to be given free papers as soon as he had purchased the entire six working days.[4]

But Legislatures were not always ready to consider these plans, even though a large number of the residents of the state seemed willing to adopt them. In 1823 a writer from East Tennessee declared it as his belief that nine out of ten of the citizens of his section of the state would favor a plan emancipating the *post nati* at a given age. "Why," he continues, "is it that our representatives in the State Assembly refuse to give the subject a hearing in any shape?" [5] And this was not the only Legislature which was thus criticised by the anti-slavery sympathizers.

A series of articles in the Boston Recorder and Telegraph, in 1825, is of exceeding interest. These articles are by four different authors: "Vigornius," a Northern opposer of slavery, "Philo,"

[1] There was much discussion later as to the practical outcome of this plan of Frances Wright. Theoretically it seemed fair and good.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 187.

[3] *Ibid.* 5. 86. [4] *Ibid.* 5. 18. [5] *Ibid.* 2. 125.

a New-Englander, "Hieronymus," a Southern anti-slavery man, and "Carolinian," a Southern upholder of the system. "Hieronymus," "a dweller at the South from his cradle," wrote to show the Southern view of anti-slavery: he thought there was much exaggeration at the North, and that writers should be careful not to accuse all slaveholders for faults committed only by a few. He wished the whole subject thoroughly and fairly discussed on both sides; if the pro-slavery men could prove their point, well and good; if not, let them confess themselves defeated, "and unite for the gradual, and *if* at all practicable, the immediate abolition of slavery." In his second essay he expressed his condemnation of the system in strong words. "The present generation have 'approved the deeds of their fathers.' . . . Cupidity got the better of conscience," and so at present they are responsible for the guilt of slavery. "The present generation are guilty, awfully guilty." In his fifth essay "Hieronymus" compared Roman and American slavery, to the disadvantage of the latter. He claimed that the abolition of slavery, either gradual or immediate, was the only remedy for the slave trade, and agreed with "Vigornius" that slavery as it existed in the United States was "unlawful and unscriptural." He quoted a number of incidents, and expressions of Southern sentiment, in various parts of the slave states, to show that there were many who substantially agreed with him.[1]

. In 1826 William Maxwell, a lawyer of high standing in Norfolk, Virginia, wrote a series of articles over the signature "Liber," which were published in the Norfolk Herald. The first article, "On the Anniversary of our Independence," denounced slavery, expressing his conviction that the majority agreed with him, and would like to have it removed. "What American and especially what Virginian does not regard slavery as the greatest calamity and disgrace?" Although this article roused great excitement in Norfolk, a second article by Maxwell was no less bold. He said himself that he would speak boldly when he thought proper, without fear of consequences, since he was "ready not only to suffer but if need be, to die, for this cause." He would esteem it the "dearest duty of his life" to aid with all his power the progress of abolition. He believed in the iniquity of slavery; only necessity

[1] The essays by all five authors were gathered together and published in Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1826. The quotations are from this pamphlet. See especially pp. 36, 42, 55, 60, 68, etc. See below, p. 78.

could justify it in any degree, and all fair and rational means must be used to do away with the necessity.[1]

The names of two women are connected with this period of anti-slavery labors. The first, Anne Royall, was a writer of political squibs and scandals, a native of Virginia, living for a large part of her life in Washington. While she wrote nothing distinctly anti-slavery, she often spoke of the inconsistency of slavery with the principles of the nation, and said that the institution had been a curse to Virginia.[2] The second made the subject of slavery "the principal theme of her exertions." Elizabeth Margaret Chandler was a native of Delaware, educated in Philadelphia. She won several prizes for her literary work, and for six months aided Lundy in editing the "Genius." The larger part of her writings were originally published in this paper.[3]

Even the children may have had at least some share in the work of the time, for we have one example of it. In 1826 a boy signing himself "Little William" sent two articles from Guilford County, North Carolina, to the "Genius." He seems quite mature, uses very strong language, and declares that when the people are aroused laws could and probably would be passed to abolish slavery. We might be tempted to doubt his youth were it not for an editorial by Lundy, which vouches for it.[4]

The spirit of anti-slavery seems well sustained at the South as we approach the end of this period. We find in the "Genius" for 1827 articles quoted from the "Richmond Enquirer," [5] and the "Richmond Family Visitor." [6] A writer in the former claimed that if public sentiment should continue to advance as it had for the past fifteen or twenty years, the next jubilee of American Independence would see slavery unnamed in the United States; a prophecy that was fulfilled. The Kentucky press also contained many articles in the twenties. Thus the Russelville Messenger printed an appeal "To the 'free' people south of Green River," in which slavery is called "one of the present curses upon these United States"; a plan drawn up for gradual abolition in the state; the plan for colonization eulogized; and the distinct statement

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 369, 372, 377, 385, 393.
[2] Anne Royall: "Sketches of the United States," pp. 101, 119.
[3] "Poems and Essays, by E. M. C.," published by Lundy, who wrote an introduction in the form of a memoir.
[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 409, 415; 6. 57.
[5] *Ibid.* 6. 260. [6] *Ibid.* 7. 107.

made that "nothing but the legal sanction of our Legislatures can abolish the evil." [1] Another series of articles, in the Western Luminary, declared the time for freedom not far distant, and advocated the education of the slave in preparation for it.[2] A writer in the "Genius" from this state in 1827 prophesied the worst of results from delay.[3]

A writer in North Carolina wrote in the latter part of 1827 an article denouncing in unmeasured terms both slavery and its upholders. "Say not then any more . . . that 'liberty . . . rests' on a land that is polluted with the vilest and most shocking system of inhumanity, injustice and inequality, . . . that has ever been . . . known . . . in all the world. . . . I view it as a most unhallowed system of superlative oppression, violence and barbarity; and equally opposed to all the laws of" God and man.[4] A fragment from the pen of Adlai Laurence Osborne declares it "extreme madness not to emancipate all slaves." [5] In 1827 a prize essay was written by James Raymond, for the Agricultural Society of Frederick County, Maryland. The subject was "The Comparative Economy of Free and Slave Labor in Agriculture." While he confined himself entirely to his own topic, he said that he hoped that if he could prove that free labor was cheaper, slavery would "go out of fashion"; and later he spoke of slavery as opposed to the inherent right of a man to his own labor.[6]

Quotations have been made from numerous papers and periodicals which admitted articles against slavery. There were others which published editorials, sometimes moderately, sometimes ardently anti-slavery in sentiment. One editorial of the date of January 11, 1817, in the National Register, then published in Washington by Joel K. Mead, treats of slavery and colonization. It does not speak in strong terms against the system, — indeed the writer doubts the wisdom of emancipation without a previous education, and affirms the right of property in slaves. But he also doubts the right of property in the children, and adds that he hopes some day "a wiser and better spirit" will "cast out this foul, aristocratic, demoralizing spirit of slave keeping." Niles,

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 181, 185, 194, 203.
[2] *Ibid.* 7. 132, 140, 195; 8. 13, 28.
[3] *Ibid.* 6. 218.
[4] *Ibid.* 8. 109, 116.
[5] Found among some papers at Salisbury C. H., North Carolina; now in the possession of Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard University.
[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 250, 258.

the editor of the "Weekly Register," one of the most important periodicals of the day, often spoke in his editorials of slavery and kindred topics. In May, 1819, under the title of "Mitigation of Slavery," he expressed his personal attitude in these words: "Hating as we do — most solemnly, sincerely and religiously hating, all sorts of slavery." He believed that slavery would at some time be abolished, and that it was the part of true wisdom to prepare the slaves for it, but that in order to encourage the support of the South the free blacks should be separated from the slaves, and their standard improved.[1] In 1821 there is in the "Register" an editorial notice of the publication at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, of the "Philanthropist," edited by Bates, the successor of Osborn, and of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," edited by Lundy, and Niles takes the occasion to express his appreciation of the anti-slavery cause, and his detestation of slavery, the "curse that like a millstone round" our country's "neck impedes its march to real greatness and rightful power." [2] The same sentiment is repeated in 1822. In 1823 an editorial claimed that the majority of the South would be willing to be rid of slavery if a feasible plan were proposed; that it was advocated only by those desirous of holding political power by its means.[3] As late as 1827, after stating that New York would become a free state on the Fourth of July, he adds: "On the fifth of July in the present year, slavery will then be unknown to the laws of New York. Would that with equal propriety, we might announce the fact that such was the condition of every other state." [4]

In 1827 the editor of the "Delaware Weekly Advertiser," published in Wilmington, refused to publish an advertisement of a reward for a runaway slave, and gave his reasons in an editorial: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that *all* men are created *equal*, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are Life, LIBERTY and the pursuit of HAPPINESS." [5]

More decidedly anti-slavery, of course, were those periodicals and newspapers published with the avowed purpose of discussing, and, if possible, destroying slavery. The earliest of those pub-

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 16. 177, 193, 211, 274, 292, 342, 401, 419.
[2] *Ibid.* 21. 119. [3] *Ibid.* 24. 179. [4] *Ibid.* 32. 274.
[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 11. 5, 32, 82; "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879," 1. 88.

lished at the South, of which we have mention, was the "Emancipator," founded in 1819 or 1820. It was a small octavo monthly, published at Jonesboro', Tennessee, by a Friend, Elihu Embree. After Embree died in 1821 no further record is found of his paper.[1] In 1822 John Finley Crowe started "The Abolition Intelligencer" at Shelbyville, Kentucky. In the Indiana Gazette of Thursday, November 29, 1821, published at Corydon, Indiana, we can read the "proposals" for this paper, of which otherwise we know little. The paper was to be published semi-monthly, under the patronage and control of the Kentucky Abolition Society. Enumerating the principles of that society by extracts from its constitution, it declared that the publication would be entirely devoted to those principles. There is no mention of immediate emancipation, but of "such measures as may tend to the abolition of slavery in a way which will consist with the constitution and laws of Kentucky and the general government." In closing it is stated that no advertisements would be received except those relating to slavery. The paper is referred to once or twice in publications of the time, but apparently found little support, and lapsed in 1823. In the volume of the "Genius" for 1830 there is an account of a publication called "The Liberalist," published in New Orleans by Milo Mower, for the purpose of "promulgating the doctrine of universal freedom." It perished for lack of support, and its editor was imprisoned for circulating handbills in its behalf.[2]

The most successful anti-slavery paper was "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," founded in 1821 by Benjamin Lundy. Preceded in its field only by the "Emancipator," it was for the largest part of its existence the only anti-slavery paper in circulation in the country. In the same number of the Indiana Gazette in which appeared the advertisement of the "Abolition Intelligencer" are to be found the "Proposals for publishing at Mt. Pleasant, O., a periodical work, to be entitled the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation' by Benjamin Lundy." These proposals, which throw light on the character and opinions of this active worker for the slave, read as follows: "This work is intended to

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 85; "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879," 1. 88.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 32, 82. There is a slight question when this paper was first issued; Mr. Birney ("James G. Birney," p. 86) says it was probably in 1828, but the "Genius" speaks of it as something new in 1830.

be devoted exclusively to the subject of African slavery, and will be an active instrument in the attempt to abolish that cruel and disgraceful system in the American Republic. The proposed editor . . . believes that *the time has come* when the advocates of AFRICAN EMANCIPATION should speak out that they may be heard, and use their utmost exertions to arouse and awaken the American people to a sense of the inconsistency, the hypocrisy and the iniquity of which many of them are chargeable, in suffering this foul blot to remain upon their national escutcheon, and as he considers it almost *criminal* to be lukewarm in a cause so important as this, the public may be assured that his best endeavors shall be used, consistent with justice and propriety, to draw the attention of his countrymen toward this subject, and to induce them to THINK more upon it." This he considers all that is necessary "to ensure the ultimate triumph of liberty." Bold words these for the first proposals for a paper which was to be entirely dependent on the support of the public to whom they were addressed. It seems well-nigh impossible that such words as these would have been used by even so bold a man as Lundy, if, as is so often assumed, the time had been one of "universal stagnation" on the slavery question.

Lundy began the publication of the paper as he proposed,[1] at Mt. Pleasant,[2] Ohio, in July, 1821. A few months later he moved the paper to Greenville, Tennessee,[3] and in 1824 to Baltimore. The publication continued here till October, 1830, when, owing to difficulties in Baltimore, Lundy moved with his paper to Washington,[4] remaining there until 1834. From that time until 1836 the "Genius" was published in Philadelphia.[5] The paper began as a monthly; in March, 1823, he increased it to a semi-monthly; in the September following the monthly publication was resumed,

[1] All the facts of publication are taken directly from a file of the paper, and differ in some ways from some published, and possibly generally accepted statements.

[2] Edward Needles (History of the Pennsylvania Society, p. 83) says he purchased Osborn's paper, and devoted it entirely to anti-slavery under a new title; but according to Earl (Life of Lundy, p. 19) and Niles (Weekly Register, 21. 119) Osborn sold it to Elisha Bates, who gave it a tone not at all satisfactory to Lundy.

[3] Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography says, mistakenly, Jonesboro', Tenn., probably confusing it with "The Emancipator," published by Elihu Embree at that place.

[4] Earl: "Life of Lundy," p. 30.

[5] Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography says, mistakenly, that on his going to Philadelphia he issued his paper under the name of "The National Inquirer." The files of the paper prove the contrary; issues for Jan. 1834 to Dec. 1836, inclusive, are all dated at Philadelphia, and retain the old name. No later numbers have been found, but he is said to have left Philadelphia in 1836, and he died in 1839.

but with more pages in each number. The publication was suspended for some reason from May, 1824, to October of the same year, at which date volume four begins. The monthly issue continued from that time with no material alteration until July 4, 1825, when a complete change was made by issuing, along with the small octavo monthly, a weekly paper on large sheets, much more nearly resembling our modern newspapers. This weekly edition speedily took the place of the monthly, and continued, with a lapse of several months during 1828 and 1829, until the expiration of the partnership of Garrison and Lundy in March, 1830. At the beginning of this partnership, however (September, 1829), the size of the sheets was slightly increased. The monthly issue was resumed by Lundy when once more alone, and was continued with more or less regularity until 1836.

No list is found giving the number of the subscribers to the "Genius." It was never so large but that the paper had a precarious existence, and Lundy was obliged to spend much time in soliciting subscriptions. Garrison, during the six months of his partnership with Lundy, thought the loss of old subscribers was due to his advocacy of immediate emancipation; but immediate emancipation had been advocated in the paper before Garrison's time, although not with equal vehemence; the scantiness of the circulation was felt long before the partnership; and Lundy did not really blame Garrison, nor did the attitude of Garrison "break up" the paper, as is sometimes stated.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SOUTH: MEMORIALS, PETITIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

A still better indication of public opinion than the words or writings of any individual, or even the articles published in any periodical, are the memorials, petitions and resolutions prepared and adopted at public meetings. A large proportion of the memorials which are definitely mentioned are from Maryland, and especially from the city of Baltimore, and there seems some reason to believe the statement of several writers, that Maryland was approaching the point where it would be ready to throw off the burden. In December, 1819, at a public meeting of the citizens of Baltimore, a resolution was passed that future admission of slaves into states hereafter to be formed west of the Mississippi River, ought to be prohibited by Congress, and a memorial was prepared. Two thousand citizens of Baltimore signed, in 1820, a petition against the admission of Missouri as a slave state; these may very likely have been the same.[1] In 1826 a memorial was presented from Baltimore County to the Legislature of Maryland, for such laws as "will eventually but gradually and totally extinguish slavery in Maryland."[2] Not long after this a very radical memorial was offered to the citizens of Baltimore for signature; although the Baltimore Gazette opposed it, signatures increased. It denounced slavery as (1) at war with the fundamental principles of the government; (2) promoting idleness and encouraging vice; (3) incompatible with the Christian religion; (4) weakening to the nation. It petitioned for emancipation in the District of Columbia but did not advise immediate abolition; it asked for a law to free the *post nati*.[3] During 1827 another memorial of much the same tenor was

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 304; William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 80.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 9.

[3] *Ibid.* 6. 103, 133.

sent to Congress by the citizens of Baltimore.[1] A petition in 1827 from the inhabitants of Harford County, Maryland, for the abolition of slavery in that state, was presented to the House of Delegates, and was referred to a committee of nine from seven counties. While this committee reported the inexpediency of recommending the system, they expressed their confidence that Maryland would soon be relieved through colonization from "this grievous calamity."[2] Still another, in 1829, was from the citizens of Frederick County, and asked for a law to free the *post nati;* no result is apparent until 1832, when a committee was appointed to investigate the matter, but nothing came of the appeal.[3] In 1830 there is record of the printing and circulating of another petition for gradual abolition in Maryland, but again no record of the result.[4]

In Tennessee, in 1821, petitions were sent by a number of citizens to the Legislature, asking for some legislation for the relief of the blacks, such as a law allowing the emancipation of self-supporting slaves, and suggesting also that a gradual emancipation act should be passed. The committee to which it was referred recommended the passing of a law to allow manumissions, and the consideration of gradual emancipation. The subject was, however, laid on the table in the Senate, and nothing came from it.[5] A memorial to the State Legislature in Delaware was in circulation in that state in 1826. It asked for a law to free the *post nati* at a certain age.[6] A memorial was also sent to Congress from Delaware in 1828, in regard to slavery in the District of Columbia.[7]

A memorial from the inhabitants of the District of Columbia presented to the national House of Representatives in 1828, was duly printed, and thus preserved to us. It includes a statement of the existence, and details of the horrors of the domestic slave trade in the District, and of the sale of free blacks for jail fees incurred because they were suspected of being slaves. The signers asked for a law declaring that all children of slaves born in the District of Columbia after July 4, 1828, should be free at the age of twenty-five

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 4.
[2] Jeffrey R. Brackett: "The Negro in Maryland," p. 55; quoted from the House Journal (Md.), 1827, pp. 320, 342.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 56; quoted from the House Journal (Md.), 1829, p. 427; and 1832, p. 89.
[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 11. 71.
[5] *Ibid*, 2. 110; quoted from the Knoxville Register; also Niles' Weekly Register, 21. 173.
[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 93.
[7] *Ibid.* 9. 86, 87.

years, and that the laws authorizing the sale of supposed runaways for their jail fees should be repealed. They also asked for a law to prevent the further introduction of slaves into the District, except as part of the households of members of Congress, resident strangers, and travelers. One thousand and sixty names are printed as those of signers of this memorial.[1]

Reference is found in many contemporary journals to a "Memorial to the Honorable Convention of Virginia, Held in Richmond, in Oct., 1829." From an outline which has been preserved, it is known to have come from the inhabitants of Augusta County, Virginia, and to have been distinctly anti-slavery. There is no mention of its reception or consideration.[2]

Up to this point we have considered the opinion either of individuals in the South, as expressed by words, actions and writings; or of some groups of people, expressed by memorials. While this proves conclusively the existence of anti-slavery sentiment in the slave states during this period, it does not prove the position of the majority of the people. Memorials may be presented by minorities; even one thousand and sixty signatures in the District of Columbia would not show that the matter interested the majority of the people of the District. One of the best means, perhaps, which we have at our disposal, of judging of the extent to which these sentiments had made themselves felt, is to examine the legislation of the slave states during the period under discussion; for while Legislatures do not always reflect popular sentiment, their action, taken for a long period together, comes nearer to it than that of any other agent of public opinion. In 1816 and 1817 several state Legislatures passed severe laws to check the slave trade.[3] In Georgia slaves imported from abroad might be confiscated even a year after introduction. This law was distinctly said not to apply to slaves brought by emigrants, or by residents for their own use. In South Carolina it was a felony to import a slave except by express permission of the Legislature. In North Carolina there was increased vigilance and severe legislation against kidnapping. Louisiana was said to have been on the point of taking similar measures.

[1] Pamphlet copy of memorial, printed as a House Document.

[2] This memorial is mentioned in Niles' Weekly Register, 36. 356; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 9. The quotations are from the Richmond Whig, and the Staunton Spectator. The quotation from the latter in the "Register" gives an outline of the memorial.

[3] Niles' Weekly Register, 11. 399.

The constitution of Alabama, drawn up in 1819, empowered the Legislature to abolish slavery on making compensation to owners, with or without their consent. The General Assembly exercised for many years the power to emancipate slaves, the total for the first eleven years being two hundred and three, or an average of more than eighteen a year. The constitution also allowed to slaves a jury trial for all crimes above petit larceny; while malicious maiming or killing of slaves was to receive the same punishment as if the offence had been committed on a free white, and on the same proof, except in cases of insurrection. In the first session of the Legislature a law was passed providing paid counsel to slaves tried by jury, and excluded from that jury the master, the prosecuting witness, and the relatives of both.[1]

But one law for the benefit of the slave is recorded as passed in Florida. In 1822, during its existence as a territory, a law was passed, declaring that for capital crimes slaves should be tried and punished as whites.[2]

In Georgia, in 1811, it was enacted that the ordinary trial of slaves should be held before a justice of the peace, but in cases involving capital punishment, in the inferior county court, by a jury. In 1816 the killing or maiming of a slave or free person of color was put on the same footing as if the sufferer were a white man or citizen. The non-importation law mentioned above was passed in 1816 or 1817, repealed in 1824, revived in 1829, and still later was modified, repealed, and again revived! In 1823 the "Common Council of Savannah, Georgia, . . . with a becoming feeling, refused to receive into the city treasury any money, the proceeds of the sale of free blacks." In 1824–1825 the Legislature repealed all laws and parts of laws authorizing this sale of free blacks.[3]

The constitution of Louisiana (1812) allowed the enrollment of colored men in the militia. The only statute which could be con-

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 38–40; John C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 150.

[2] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 191.

[3] *Ibid.* 2. 102, 104; George M. Stroud: "A Sketch of the Laws Relating to Slavery," 1st edition, 1827, p. 55, note; 2nd edition, 1856, p. 90, note; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 178. Yet the Mayor and Council of Savannah refused a gift of money from New York, for the sufferers from the great fire of 1820, because given on condition that it be divided equally between the black and white sufferers. See Adam Hodgson: "Letters from North America," 1. 103; Niles' Weekly Register, 18. 88.

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strued as favoring the slaves was a non-importation act in the usual terms.[1]

In Maryland a law was passed in 1809 facilitating manumission, but the children of the freed slave were to be slaves unless the owner determined that they should be free. Laws were passed in 1810, 1817, 1824 and 1825 to prevent those slaves whose emancipation had been determined from being sold out of the state before their time for freedom came.[2]

An act passed in Delaware in 1810 provided penalties for attempts to export a slave whose freedom at a future time was determined upon. Other acts in 1816 and 1826 related to fugitive slaves, but neither could be called really anti-slavery.[3]

The constitution of Missouri, adopted in 1820, provided that any one who maliciously injured or killed a slave should receive the same punishment as was given for the same offence committed upon a white person. It also gave slaves the right to an impartial trial by jury; to punishment of like kind and degree as was administered to whites for the same offence; and required the courts to assign counsel for their defence. In 1824 an act to enable persons held in slavery to sue for their freedom required recognizances of the defendant, but not of the petitioners.[4]

The first constitution of North Carolina, adopted in 1776, gave the elective franchise to all adult freemen presenting the requisite property qualification, without distinction of color. This was not changed until 1835. In 1817 a law was passed which provided that "the offence of killing a slave shall be homicide, and shall partake of the same degree of guilt, when accompanied by the same circumstances, that homicide does at the common law." However, before 1823 (the exact date is not given), this principle was modified by a court decision. The first general emancipation law in North Carolina was passed in 1830, and remained the law until the Civil War. There was a long and tedious process to be gone through by the owner, beginning with a public notice of his intention six weeks previously; and he must give bonds of $1000

[1] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 159; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 307; Niles' Weekly Register, 30. 202. See Jackson's speech to the colored soldiers in Louisiana in 1815.

[2] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 21; Constitution of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, published in pamphlet form in 1820, p. 30.

[3] Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 78–80.

[4] *Ibid.* 2. 168, 169.

that the freedman should leave the state in ninety days. A slave could be freed for "meritorious services" without being obliged to leave the state.[1]

Non-importation acts were passed in South Carolina, as in so many other states, in 1816 and 1817; but all such laws were repealed in 1818, and no mention is made of any later enactment. South Carolina shows the most strongly of all the states the influence of pro-slavery feeling during her whole history. It is interesting to read that in 1818 it was decided in the courts of this state that the calling of a person a mulatto was actionable *per se* as a libel! South Carolina was the last state to abandon a simple money fine for the murder of a slave; in 1821 an act was passed increasing the punishment of a deliberate murder to death without benefit of clergy. Murder during sudden passion, or the unpremeditated killing by excessive whipping, was not a capital offence, but punishable by a fine of $500, and imprisonment of six months.[2]

The non-importation act of Tennessee was passed in 1812, several years earlier than in the most of the Southern states. It was at first, however, passed for only a limited time. It was later renewed until in 1826 it was made perpetual. In 1817 a law was enacted to prevent the sudden selling into hopeless bondage of a slave who had brought suit for freedom: the owner was required to give bonds to produce the plaintiff, if the probability of his freedom had been shown.[3]

In Kentucky, in 1829 or 1830, a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, "to provide for the constitutional emancipation of all slaves in the state." It was postponed indefinitely on its first reading, by a vote of 18 to 11.[4]

Although Texas was not a part of the Union during the period under discussion, it is interesting to note that the anti-slavery sentiment of the time found expression there also. In 1827 the constitution of the new state of Coahuila and Texas had declared for

[1] Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 81 and note, 82; Stephen B. Weeks; "The Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 224.

[2] Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 96–98 (Case of libel, King *vs.* Wood); Stroud: "Sketch of Laws relating to Slavery," edition of 1827, pp. 36–40; edition of 1856, more definite, pp. 56, 62–64; Niles' Weekly Register, 11. 336. It should be noticed in this connection that the State of South Carolina had the largest number of slaves, both absolutely and relatively.

[3] Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 91, 92.

[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 145.

the freedom of the *post nati*, and the prohibition of importation after six months. In July, 1829, slavery was entirely abolished by a decree of the Dictator, Guerrero. But the new republic whose constitution was adopted in 1836 allowed slavery, and no further question of abolition was raised.[1]

Virginia, it is claimed by many, would have abolished slavery if a longer time had been allowed her. If that statement is true, there must have been a decided change after 1831. Up to that time the majorities through her whole history seem to be really on the side of slavery. In the Revised Code of Virginia, published in 1819, the murder of a slave by "wilful, malicious and excessive whipping," was made murder in the first degree; but conviction was not at all sure, and in the later codes the provision was omitted entirely.[2] There were very strong words against slavery in the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829–1830; the discussion beginning on October 26, 1829, and being continued through nearly the whole session. But, though feeling ran high in this debate, and slavery was sometimes denounced, it seems not at all a contest for or against slavery *per se*, but a jealous rivalry of the West and East in the state. Under the old régime the East had held the balance of power; the West was growing in wealth and population, and was desirous of a larger influence in the government. The East was anxious not to give up any influence it already possessed, and was also afraid of heavy taxation on the slave property. Upshur, who argued for the representation of the slaves, speaks of them as a great and important interest, — they paid 30 % of the whole revenue from taxation, and one-sixth of the power in the national councils was derived from them. One argument used by the East for the maintenance of the old basis of representation was that the slaveholders had always been in power, and had held the non-slaveholders at their mercy, and still the West had not been unduly taxed. Yet, although the debate gives distinct proofs of being excited by jealousy, and not by anti-slavery sentiments, we may learn something of anti-slavery opinions in Virginia

[1] Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 195; "Laws and Decrees of the State of Coahuila and Texas," a parallel edition in Spanish and English (1839), containing all the laws and decrees from the foundation of the state till 1834. The decree in point is on page 314.

[2] Stroud: "Sketch of Laws relating to Slavery," edition of 1827, p. 36 (when the law was in force); edition of 1856, p. 56, note.

by its means. Upshur of Northampton, in his speech on October 28, said: "There exists in a great portion of the West [of Virginia] a rooted antipathy to the slave." Mercer of Loudon suggested the wisdom of introducing the tenantry system, to supersede slavery. Randolph of Charlotte expressed himself as greatly alarmed at the "fanatical spirit" on the subject of slavery which was growing up in Virginia. He was of the opinion that if the "White Basis" had been carried there would have been a bill for emancipation in the House of Burgesses in less than twenty years. He used strong and bitter words against abolition, which are replied to by a distinct disclaimer of any such ideas by the most prominent advocates of the "White Basis." [1]

Congressional prohibition of slavery in new states was advocated by only one Southern Legislature, that of Delaware, which in January, 1820, passed a resolution on this subject.[2]

Two allusions in the United States Congress should be inserted here as an evidence of Southern feeling. A House bill, passed on January 15, 1811, to allow the Territory of Orleans to form a constitution, permitted "all free male citizens" of certain property qualifications to meet in the constitutional convention. The Senate, on January 29, amended it to read "white male citizens." The House negatived this amendment, not openly on the ground of anti-slavery, but on the plea that Louisiana would be the best judge of her own affairs, and could later regulate the suffrage in the constitution. The Senate, however, refused to recede from their amendment, and the House yielded.[3]

Another bill, which resulted more favorably for the anti-slavery sentiment, was in regard to the petition of Marigny D'Auterive of Louisiana, in 1828, claiming remuneration for loss of time and other expenses of the slave, horse and cart, impressed into the United States service at the time of the war with England. A long discus-

[1] Report of the Virginia Convention of 1829–1830, pp. 53, 60, 76, 442, 858, etc. The occasion of the discussion was the apportionment of representatives, three methods being under consideration: the Federal Numbers, the method in use both in Virginia and in Congress, favored only by a few at this time for Virginia; a Mixed Basis of white population and taxation, a new plan favored by the slaveholders generally; and the White Basis, a radical departure from the old methods, — apportionment according to the free white population. The last was approved by the non-slaveholders, and generally by western Virginia. No agreement was reached, a compromise being passed to serve as a temporary settlement merely. See Report, pp. 667, 668, 672, 705, etc.

[2] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 343.

[3] Annals of Congress, 11th Congress, 2d Session, 107, 131, 151, 582, 937, 960, 964.

sion took place in the House on the question whether the slave were a person or property. The argument was, if the slave were a person there would be no ground for such a claim; if the slave were property there would be good ground. Quotations were made in the course of the debate from the Constitution of the United States and from the Bible. Finally the bill was recommitted, with instructions to strike out the item giving remuneration for the slave.[1] These two are the only bills bearing on the question of which record is made in the reports of Congress. The advocates of slavery were determined that Congress should not discuss the question, and the opposers of the system were not strong enough in Congress, perhaps not in their own convictions, to undertake to propose any anti-slavery legislation. All other references to the subject in the national legislative body were upon the petitions sent by the people of the country against slavery in various aspects, and the discussion of the Missouri Compromise, which is now conceded to have been in reality a victory for the slavocracy. Candler thought, after reviewing the Acts of Congress, and the discussions, that, as Congress was the representative of the people, the Acts of Congress proved that the American people were in reality the friends of slavery.[2]

[1] Congressional Debates, 20th Congress, 1st Session, 899, 916, 968, 976, 1006, 1048, 1068, 1093, 1458.

[2] Isaac Candler: "A Summary View of America," p. 260.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE NORTH: MEN OF PROMINENCE

While the anti-slavery sentiment in the North was in some respects less strong than in the South, the North being only partially awakened to the serious question of slavery, there were, nevertheless, many people in the Northern states who not only felt strongly, but wrote and worked as they felt. Those who have left some distinct record might be conveniently classified into native-born Northerners, and natives of the South who had removed to the North. In most cases the Southern-born Northerner who advocated the freedom of the slave was a man who had removed to a free state in order to be rid of the system. It naturally followed that he was much more active in words and deeds than his Northern neighbors. A more distinctive grouping is by locality; for the two centers of anti-slavery activity were Illinois and Ohio.

In the group of anti-slavery advocates brought into prominence by the struggle of 1822–1824 in Illinois, all but one were natives of the free states or of England. This struggle, which was, in brief, the unsuccessful attempt of the pro-slavery men of Illinois to introduce slavery into that state, where it had been prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787, will be discussed in detail later. The most prominent figure in Illinois during the period was a man of Southern birth, Edward Coles. He was born in Virginia, heir to several hundred slaves, and was a man of talent and education. He was the private secretary of President Madison from 1809 to 1815, and was sent on an important mission to Europe in 1815. In 1819 he moved to Edwardsville, Illinois, with all his negroes, tarrying on his way at Kaskaskia, to use his influence against a slave constitution. Before reaching his destination he gave to each of his slaves a certificate of freedom, which was prefaced by words showing his belief in their inherent right to liberty.[1]

[1] Elihu Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 16, 18, 39, 44–53. The mission to Europe was to the court of Russia, whose Emperor, deeming himself insulted by

In 1822, owing to a division in the pro-slavery ranks, he was elected Governor of Illinois by the anti-slavery minority. The Lieutenant Governor and the majority of the Legislature were pro-slavery. A message sent to the Legislature in 1822, recommending that that body make "just and equitable provisions for the abrogation of slavery" in the state, opened the controversy. During the struggle Coles was busy with voice, pen and purse in behalf of the negro. His correspondence proves his hatred of slavery, and his intense desire that freedom should win in the struggle. After the close of the contest he was attacked in the courts on a sham plea, and with difficulty escaped the loss of all his property.[1]

Among the most prominent of those who aided Coles in this struggle in Illinois were Richard Flower, an English emigrant;[2] George Churchill and Curtis Blakeman, both members of the House of Representatives of Illinois during the struggle, who voted against the convention resolution, and signed the "Appeal to the People of Illinois";[3] and Morris Birkbeck, a practical farmer and literary man, who came to the United States from England in 1816, and the next year settled in Edwards County, Illinois. Birkbeck entered heartily into the conflict. In 1823 he published a pamphlet concerning slavery, and during that year and the next wrote a series of articles for the Illinois Gazette. In 1824, after the defeat of the convention, he became the Secretary of State under Governor Coles, but he held the office only three months, as the jealousy of the pro-slavery men prevented the ratification of his appointment.[4]

Of the important group of anti-slavery workers in southern Ohio, nearly all were Southern-born; all felt strongly opposed to slavery; most of them had removed to Ohio for the sake of freedom; and many of them are claimed as immediate emancipationists. Among these may be named, as the more prominent, Alexander Campbell,[5]

our government, threatened to expel or imprison our consul at St. Petersburg, who was acting as our chargé d'affaires during the absence of our minister. Coles was sent privately, and succeeded in adjusting the difficulties.

[1] Elihu Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 59, 183, 195, 199–209, etc. Coles received 2810 votes; all others, 5825.

[2] See Richard Flower: "Letters from Lexington and the Illinois"; Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," p. 143.

[3] Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 60, 102, 117, 118.

[4] For examples of his opinions on slavery see his "Notes on a Journey in America," pp. 3, 16, 17 (Eng. ed.); and "Letters from Illinois," pp. 71, 72, 113 (Eng. ed.). See also Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 182, 186–189, 194–197.

[5] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 432.

Thomas Morris,[1] and Samuel Doak,[2] natives of Virginia; and Samuel Crothers [3] and William Dunlop,[4] natives of Kentucky. Of these Doak probably exerted the most influence, as he was a teacher in several Southern states before removing to Ohio. He is said after 1818 to have taught his scholars the principles of immediate abolition. Among his most receptive pupils were Jesse Lockhart and John Rankin, later champions in the cause.

Among other Ohio workers, of Northern birth, or whose birthplace is unknown, some of the more prominent were: James Lawton,[5] one of the earliest abolitionists in Washington County; Dyer Burgess, a native of Springfield, Vermont; and John B. Mahan. Dyer Burgess was for many years a member of the Chillicothe Presbytery, and thus associated with men of anti-slavery prominence. His sermons against slavery are said to have been uncompromising, and he published in 1827 a pamphlet which was, apparently, an appeal for immediate abolition. It was largely as the result of a paper presented by him at the meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly, of which he was a member, that the strong resolutions were adopted by that body in 1818.[6] John B. Mahan after 1820 became an active friend of the fugitive slaves, was associated with Levi Coffin in their behalf from 1826, and carried on something very similar to the "Underground Railroad," although it was not known by that name.[7]

The most of the anti-slavery advocates of Ohio who have been already named, have left no record in their own writings distinctly proving how far they committed themselves to the anti-slavery cause. But there were others whose position cannot be considered thus uncertain. With regard to the exact position of Charles Osborn in respect to anti-slavery there is still much conflict of opinion; he has even been styled the father of the modern abolition movement. He seems to have taken a prominent part in the formation of manumission societies in Tennessee in 1814, and in North Carolina in 1816; he removed to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, in 1816, and

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 432; Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography.

[2] Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 74. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 167, 168. [4] *Ibid.* p. 432.

[5] "History of Washington County, Ohio," p. 429.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 486; Birney: "James G. Birney," pp. 168, 431, 432. That "for years before 1817" he refused to admit slaveholders to communion is not very significant, as he only removed from Vermont to Ohio in 1816.

[7] Birney: "James G. Birney," pp. 166, 167.

in 1817 founded his paper, "The Philanthropist," a paper which has been called the "first journal in America to advocate unconditional emancipation." The files of the Philanthropist do not bear out so strong a statement, as concerns the first two volumes. Lundy was a recognized and regular correspondent from the very first number, and himself assumed that he selected or wrote nearly all the anti-slavery articles. Osborn is said to have been from his earliest years a "thorough-going abolitionist" and an abstainer from slave-grown produce. There is nothing in these volumes of the Philanthropist to confirm or disprove this statement, although the distinct statement can be found that emancipation must be gradual. He was also opposed to the colonization scheme. But even if it were conceded that there may be room for a difference of opinion in regard to the anti-slavery tone of the Philanthropist, and Osborn's share in the writing of the articles, it does not seem possible to maintain the opinion put forward by both Julian and Weeks, that he was the first man in America to proclaim the doctrine of immediate and universal emancipation, while the books by Rice and Bourne still exist, — the former with two editions in 1792 and 1812, and the latter published in 1816. Other books and pamphlets are also named in earlier works as taking this attitude, but they are not now extant.[1]

James Gilliland was one of the more prominent of the Ohio abolitionists. He was probably a native of South Carolina, and began to preach in that state against slavery and in favor of immediate emancipation as early as 1794. His sermons against the institution gave so much offence that an appeal was taken to the Presbytery, which enjoined him to be silent on the subject; but he continued his teaching privately. In 1805 he removed to Ohio and became the minister of a church composed almost entirely of

[1] Julian: "The Genesis of Modern Abolitionism," in the International Review for June, 1882; "The Truth of Anti-slavery History," in *Ibid.* for Nov. 1882. Stephen B. Weeks: "The Southern Quakers and Slavery," pp. 235, 236. The conclusions of these two authors were reached separately. See also Oliver Johnson: "Charles Osborn's Place in Anti-slavery History," in the International Review for Sept. 1882, for the other side. Unless the later numbers of the Philanthropist are remarkably rich, it is hard to find the average of two articles per number of which Weeks speaks. A careful reading of the first two volumes, fifty numbers, discloses no strong advocacy of immediate emancipation; indeed one article (Vol. 1, No. 13) distinctly states that emancipation must be gradual. There are but fifty-two articles in these fifty numbers which bear upon the subject of slavery, and of these nineteen are direct reprints from other papers. A large proportion, also, are dated at St. Clairsville, the residence of Lundy, who we know was a regular correspondent. But four volumes were edited by Osborn, as he sold his paper to Bates in 1820 or 1821. See above, note to p. 26.

Southerners, a large number of them ex-slaveholders. He was always a leader in the abolition movement in Ohio, and his people stood by him, and aided him to the extent of their power. In 1820 he published a pamphlet in dialogue form in which he is said to have taught immediate emancipation. He also prepared, in 1829, a letter from the Chillicothe Presbytery to the churches under its care, which will be considered later.[1]

The strongest and best known of this group of anti-slavery men in Ohio was John Rankin, sometimes called the "father of abolitionism" and the "Martin Luther of the cause." He was a native of Tennessee, and was a clergyman in Carlisle, Kentucky, from 1817 to 1821, after which he removed to Ripley, Ohio, where he preached for forty-four years. In 1814 he was a member of a society in Jefferson County, Tennessee, which advocated immediate emancipation, and while in Kentucky was busily engaged in organizing societies auxiliary to the Kentucky Abolition Society. He preached the doctrine of immediate emancipation as early as 1817, and taught it through the press in 1822; indeed his brother, A. T. Rankin, says of him: "He never was a gradual emancipationist." In 1823–1824 he published a series of letters on slavery in the "Castigator" of Ripley, Ohio, then edited by David Amen. These were issued in book form, and many copies sold in both Kentucky and Tennessee. Rankin later joined the Garrisonian movement; his Letters were republished in the Liberator; and still later new editions appeared in book form.[2]

In the first of these Letters he expresses his extreme hatred of slavery, and discusses the ground of the prejudice against the African. He claims that the degradation, which is one ground of this prejudice, is entirely due to the oppression of the negro, since, if it were a difference of organization, there would not be even the few remarkable exceptions to the general rule. The second letter was intended to prove that the negroes were not created for slavery. The third recounts the evils of slavery from ignorance and petty

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 433; A. T. Rankin: "Truth Vindicated and Slander Repelled," p. 4. See below, p. 100.

[2] Birney: "James G. Birney," pp. 76, 168–171, 390; Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography; John Rankin: "Letters on American Slavery," titlepage; A. T. Rankin: "Truth Vindicated," pp. 7, 9, 10, 13, 15; Speech by Rankin in 1839, at a meeting of the American Anti-slavery Society, where he claims for the society the basis of a belief in immediate abolition. See also S. B. Weeks: "The Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 235.

tyranny under the best of masters, and from severe punishment under hard masters; and the interstate slave trade is strongly denounced. To Rankin the question was not whether the slaves were better or worse off than in Africa, but whether it was just for us to enslave them. No writer ever more vigorously set forth the ill effects of slavery on the white race, than Rankin in his list of nine specific evils resulting from slavery. First, slavery "is opposed to domestic peace"; second, "idleness [among slaveholders] is generally one result of slavery"; third, "slavery promotes vice among the free inhabitants of slaveholding states"; fourth, "slavery debilitates the constitution of slaveholding people"; — man is formed for action, and exercise is necessary for health; vice also produces disease; — fifth, "slavery must eventually lead to poverty," through gaming, idleness and extravagance; sixth, slavery promotes the ignorance of slaveholders; seventh, slavery weakens every state where it exists; eighth, "slavery cultivates a spirit of cruelty"; ninth, "slavery tends to tyranny." A little later he declares that since slaves were originally stolen there can be no good title to them; and lastly he takes up the various pro-slavery arguments from the Bible, and refutes them.[1]

Outside the Illinois and Ohio groups we find, scattered over the Northern states, a goodly number of men who worked for the benefit of the slave, as individuals, or in connection with local abolition societies. Among these are to be found a few politicians, who in some way manifested a hatred of the system. The attitude of John Adams may be shown by an extract from a letter dated in June, 1819. "I have, through my whole life, held the practice of slavery in such abhorrence, though I have lived for many years in times when the practice was not disgraceful, when the best men in my vicinity thought it not inconsistent with their character, and when it has cost me thousands of dollars for the labor and subsistence of free men, which I might have saved by the purchase of negroes at times when they were very cheap." [2]

John Quincy Adams says in his diary, under the date of December 27, 1819: "With the Declaration of Independence on their lips, and the merciless scourge of slavery in their hands, a more

[1] John Rankin: "Letters on American Slavery," second edition, pp. 5, 10–12, 32, 66–74, 77, 80–118, etc.

[2] John Adams: "Works," edited by Charles Francis Adams, 10. 379.

flagrant image of human inconsistency can scarcely be conceived than one of our Southern slaveholding republicans." In his notes on the Missouri question he speaks very strongly: "Never since human sentiments and human conduct were influenced by human speech was there a theme for eloquence like the free side of this question." He even suggests that a dissolution of the Union and entire reorganization on the fundamental principles of emancipation would be both feasible and productive of good results, even though the dissolution was accompanied by the calamities of a civil war. A sonnet written by him in 1826 also contains this sentiment, although it may not be fair to adduce it as proof of the strength of his anti-slavery opinion. The last lines are:

> "Who but shall learn that freedom is the prize
> Man still is bound to rescue or maintain;
> That nature's God commands the slave to rise,
> And on th' oppressor's head to break his chain.
> Roll, years of promise, rapidly roll round,
> Till not a slave shall on this earth be found." [1]

The attitude of Webster toward slavery is rather equivocal. Determinedly set against nullification, he seems at times almost proportionately weak against slavery. His opinions, as given by his biographer, seem to include a recognition of slavery as a "political, social, and moral evil," the extension of which must be opposed, but which in the slave states was entirely beyond the control of the rest of the Union, and which in the District of Columbia must be treated with reference to the effect of the action upon the rest of the South.[2]

There were many members of Congress, of less note than those already mentioned, who used their voices against slavery. In April, 1818, Edward Livermore of Massachusetts submitted to the House a resolution offering an amendment to the Constitution, which read: "No person shall be held to service or labor as a slave, nor shall slavery be tolerated in any state hereafter admitted into the Union, or made one of the United States of America." Congress was not ready for this, and consideration was negatived.[3]

[1] John Quincy Adams: "Memoirs and Diary," edited by Charles Francis Adams, 4. 492, 524, 531; 7. 164.
[2] George T. Curtis: "Life of Daniel Webster," 1. 526.
[3] Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, 1st Session, 1675.

David L. Morrill of New Hampshire, in the same session, declared it as his belief that the blacks had a right to freedom, and that a desire for the end of slavery was a duty owed to self, country and God. He also contended that the abolition of slavery was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution. Both he and William Plumer, Jr., a Representative from the same state, denounced [1] slavery in unmeasured terms during the session of 1820. Other Congressmen also gave their voice against slavery as an institution during the years 1820–1821; Ezra C. Gross [2] and Henry Meigs [3] of New York, John Sergeant [4] of Pennsylvania, and Joshua Cushman [5] of Maine being perhaps the most outspoken. In 1826 Michael Hoffman [6] of New York denounced slavery and the defence of it by Edward Everett; and in 1829 Charles Miner [7] of Pennsylvania introduced into the House resolutions favoring an investigation of the condition of the slaves in the District of Columbia, and the gradual abolition of slavery, which were passed after some discussion, but produced no result in permanent form.

Of the prominent anti-slavery workers in the North during this period, the greater number were, probably, in Pennsylvania and New York; a large number being residents of Philadelphia. Among these last were Edwin Pitt Atlee,[8] M.D.; Thomas Earle,[9] who believed in abolition with compensation; Thomas Shipley,[8] who made great exertions in favor of the slaves; William Rawle,[10] a prominent lawyer and historical student, who aimed to bring about the end of slavery by a change in public opinion; Roberts Vaux, who was of great service to Governor Coles in the Illinois contest, by selecting and printing pamphlets and tracts for distribution;[11]

[1] Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, 1st Session, 102, 103; 16th Congress, 1st Session, 135 ff. 294 ff. 1412 ff.

[2] *Ibid.* 16th Congress, 1st Session, 1242.

[3] *Ibid.* 944; 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 1168.

[4] *Ibid.* 16th Congress, 1st Session, 1172 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* 1291 ff.; 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 1015. Cushman was Representative from Massachusetts until the division of the state, and the admission of Maine.

[6] Register of Debates, 19th Congress, 1st Session, 1872.

[7] Register of Debates, 20th Congress, 1st Session, 167, 175, 191, etc. See below, p. 221.

[8] Isaac Parrish: "Brief Memoirs of Thomas Shipley and Edwin P. Atlee," pp. 31–33.

[9] Henry Simpson: "The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, now Deceased"; his later work is mentioned in R. C. Smedley: "History of the Underground Railroad in Chester and the Neighboring Counties of Pennsylvania."

[10] Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography; T. I. Wharton: "A Memoir of William Rawle, LL.D."; Note to Rawle's Inaugural Address before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, republication of 1864, I. 31.

[11] Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 153–159, 205–216.

Edward Bettle, the author of a historical paper on negro slavery, read before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1826;[1] and Isaac T. Hopper, who joined the abolition society in 1795, and was a member till his death in 1852. Hopper was well known as a friend to the negro, and was always ready to be the legal adviser of the fugitive, although he did not confine himself to legal means, if he thought them likely to fail. He was the overseer of a colored school, and himself taught in an evening school for the negroes in Philadelphia.[2]

Daniel Gibbons of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the son of an anti-slavery advocate of the earlier period, was active in assisting fugitive slaves from 1796 to 1853. The number whom he aided to escape before 1824 is estimated as over two hundred. Later he kept full records of each case, but after the passage of the stricter fugitive slave law of 1850, they were destroyed. His son Joseph was his faithful assistant.[3]

Among the more prominent workers in New York was William Jay, whose career as an opponent of slavery dated from the Missouri Compromise, although his first really active efforts were in connection with the struggle for abolition in the District of Columbia in 1826. He drafted the memorial to Congress in relation to the case of Gilbert Horton. His chief labor was by his writings to keep the abolitionists consistent with the provisions of the Constitution, lest a failure to recognize them might put the cause in a wrong position and endanger the final result.[4]

Elias Hicks, a native and life-long resident of Long Island, used his influence in the meetings of the Quakers against slavery. He was early interested in the African race, and was one of the first to bring the subject before his society. According to his journal, he first spoke in public on the subject of slavery in 1815; he also visited the South and spoke against slavery in 1822 and 1828. He especially advocated abstinence from slave products, and himself carefully abstained from their use. In 1811 he published "Observations of Slavery"; from 1813 was actively interested in the cause of African education; and was engaged with others in the

[1] Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, edition of 1826, p. 351; edition of 1864, pp. 365, 481. Register of Pennsylvania, 10. 327–332, 337–339.

[2] L. M. Child: "Isaac T. Hopper." A True Life; see M. S. Locke: "Anti-slavery in America, 1619–1808, § 105.

[3] Smedley: "History of the Underground Railroad in . . . Pennsylvania."

[4] Bayard Tuckerman: "William Jay and the Constitutional Movement for the Abolition of Slavery," pp. 29, 33, 34, 156. For the case of Horton, see pages 29–38.

labors which resulted in the abolition act which totally abolished slavery in New York in 1827.[1]

The number of anti-slavery workers in New England before 1831 was very small, if we include only those the record of whose public work has been preserved to us. The older men who are still living, however, bear witness to private conversations on slavery in their own homes, between visitors and their parents, which show the existence of such a sentiment in the latter part of the period under discussion. Jeremiah Evarts wrote for the "Panoplist" in 1820 a series of articles showing that the failure of the struggle for freedom in Missouri was not a cause for despair, but that the condition of the slave was still a legitimate object of labor.

The two names most prominently connected with the anti-slavery question during this period, in New England, are those of Leonard Bacon and William Lloyd Garrison. The "Andover Society of Inquiry concerning Missions" concerned themselves with anti-slavery as well, after their interest had been aroused by the discussions of the Missouri Compromise. In 1823 out of six elaborate dissertations published by them not less than four are devoted to this subject. At the suggestion of a student from Kentucky a committee was appointed to consider means for the elevation of the black race; and Leonard Bacon wrote the report of this committee, which really advocated the American Colonization Society. The report, full of denunciations of slavery, was published as a pamphlet and circulated both at the North and the South. In 1824 Bacon was invited to give the annual Fourth of July address at Park Street Church, Boston, and chose the subject, "A Plea for Africa." While an earnest plea for the African in America, it was equally strong for African Colonization. In 1825 he repeated the address in New Haven, and two days later an anti-slavery society was formed by Leonard Bacon, Luther Wright, Alexander Twining, Edward Beecher and Theodore D. Woolsey, with the object of working, first for the education and protection of the blacks of New Haven, and next for the elevation of public sentiment. This society increased in numbers, and remained in existence till the new era in the work.[2]

[1] Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography; Elias Hicks: "Journal of Life and Religious Labours," pp. 159, 244, 262, 347, 348, 380, 393, 419, 447, etc.

[2] Christian Spectator, Sept. and Oct. 1823, pp. 485, 540; see below, p. 120. Those facts with regard to the anti-slavery sentiment in New England before 1831 not otherwise

The work of Garrison is variously estimated, some considering him as the Apostle of Abolition, before whom and without whom there was no organized movement in favor of the slave; and others taking the opposite extreme, and regarding him as the one hindrance to the cause, which prevented its success, and made necessary the war of 1861–1865. It is only necessary to discuss here his work before 1831, when he first issued the "Liberator," and ushered in a new era of anti-slavery agitation. His first recorded words against slavery were in an editorial comment on a poem on Africa, published in 1826 in "The Free Press," in Newburyport, in which office he was then employed. In June of the same year he made a brief mention of slavery in an article reviewing the state of progress of the nation in view of the approaching Fourth of July. No more is heard from him until 1828, when he commented in "The National Philanthropist," then edited by him, on the bill in South Carolina to prohibit the instruction of the slaves, and again took the occasion to denounce slavery. In March, 1828, he met Lundy, on the occasion of his visit to Boston, and published a little later, in the "Journal of the Times," of Bennington, Vermont, which he was then editing, his impressions of this remarkable man.

It was in this paper Garrison first began his work against slavery. It is referred to in the "Genius," and a part of his first editorial is quoted, giving the three objects "which we shall pursue through life, whether in this place or elsewhere — namely the suppression of intemperance and its associate vices, the gradual emancipation of every slave in the republic, and the perpetuity of national peace." From this quotation we see that anti-slavery opinion was no more born full-grown in Garrison than in the other workers. A year later he had experienced a decided change of sentiment, for it was in the autumn of 1829 that he expressed in the "Genius" his belief in immediate emancipation. Possibly some of the other writers now known to have written in favor of immediate emancipation had come under his observation; perhaps it was the natural growth of the man himself. Still in 1828 he was not

credited, are largely taken from the paper by Leonard Woolsey Bacon, entitled "The Services of Leonard Bacon to African Colonization," published in "Liberia," Bulletin No. 15, Nov. 1899, and No. 16, Feb. 1900; and reprinted in pamphlet form in 1900; and from a paper read by Mr. Bacon before the Boston Ministers' Meeting, in 1900, not printed.

behind the majority of the anti-slavery men of his time, for the American Convention of 1828 also expressed its satisfaction with his position. It was about this time, 1828, that Garrison proposed the immediate formation of anti-slavery societies in Vermont and elsewhere in New England, and circulated through Vermont, by means of the postmasters, petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, to which he succeeded in getting 2352 names. The paper was sent to Congress, but received no discussion, beyond being referred to a committee. On the Fourth of July, 1829, he gave the annual address at Park Street Church, Boston, taking for his subject an appeal against slavery. In this he had "the zeal of a new convert," and for that reason may have antagonized some of his hearers, since he assumed to be the first to speak on the question in that part of the country, while in fact it was the seventh in the line of Fourth of July addresses at the same place which had been upon that topic.[1]

It may be well to correct in this place a misapprehension in regard to what is often termed Garrison's "residence" in Baltimore, in his early life. He has been blamed for his slowness to enter anti-slavery work, because as a youth he had himself lived in Baltimore, and had therefore seen something of slavery with his own eyes. A sufficient answer to this criticism is, that he went to Baltimore with his mother in October, 1815, when he was ten years old, and was sent home in April, 1816, before his eleventh birthday. It would be a precocious youth who, at such a tender age, could, in the course of such a short visit, conceive a strong antipathy to slavery. A second visit, in June, 1823, when he was about eighteen years of age, lasted less than a month, and his time was entirely engrossed by his sick mother, for whose sake he had made the journey. He made no other visit South until his partnership with Lundy.

In August, 1829, Garrison went to Baltimore to aid Lundy in the publication of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation." In

[1] "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879. The Story of his Life told by his Children," 1. 65, 80–86, 98, 103, 107–110, 124, 127–137; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 9. 87; Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1828, p. 9; Oliver Johnson: "William Lloyd Garrison and His Times," p. 26; L. W. Bacon: "The Services of Leonard Bacon to African Colonization," reprint, p. 11; See above, p. 26. Some of the books advocating immediate emancipation were known to Garrison, as they are named in his biography; whether at this period or later is not so certain.

the first number under their joint editorship he announced his position on the slavery question, as follows: first, the slaves were entitled to immediate emancipation; second, expediency had nothing to do with right; third, on the ground of expediency, immediate emancipation was better; fourth, we had no right to force their removal from the country.[1] In a succeeding number he declares that he believes in immediate, complete emancipation, but that the different states and not Congress must effect it, except in the case of the District of Columbia. He does not advocate immediate emancipation, however, without "liberal provisions and suitable regulations by law for the maintenance and government of the emancipated blacks."[2] Garrison's writings in the "Genius" are as variously estimated as his work in general. Some writers suppose that he alone inserted anything in favor of immediate emancipation in the paper; others insist that the other editors devoted even more space to it than he. Neither of these claims can be sustained in its entirety by a study of the files of the paper; the other editors did insert strong articles urging immediate emancipation, even before Garrison's name was mentioned in connection with slavery; but the amount inserted over Garrison's name, during the time he was in Baltimore, is at least equal to that inserted by the other editors during the same time.

Lundy's words in denunciation of slavery are as strong in many instances as any of Garrison's, and sometimes even stronger than any language used by Garrison. The difference seems to lie in the application of the words. Lundy denounced slavery as a system, the slave trade as a business, the desire for new slave territory as political chicanery; and he plead for the negroes as a race. However bitter and sharp his words, they offered no hold for an indictment for libel, and he was not attacked except in one instance when he departed from his usual custom, and arraigned a slave trader personally. Garrison, on the other hand, not only condemned slavery, but assailed slave traders and slave owners as individuals, and in consequence, in 1830, suffered imprisonment for his rashness.[3] A careful study of this affair leads to the conclusion that it was not his denunciation of slavery *per se* which

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 5; see above; pp. 45–47.

[2] *Ibid.* 10. 19.

[3] See the account of the affair in the "Genius," 11. 17, 33; and in Lundy's reminiscences, in Earl's "Life of Lundy," pp. 29, 30, where Lundy himself gives this explanation.

brought him into trouble, but the personal resentment of a man who had been personally attacked, and the sympathy of a pro-slavery jury, who may also have looked upon him as a stranger, since he was so recently come among them. Pro-slavery men were, besides, at this time beginning to look with suspicion at all Northerners, partly because of their attitude at the time of the Missouri contest; Garrison was undeniably a Northerner, and even if he had used conciliatory measures might have found it difficult not to arouse their suspicions. Lundy was equally a Northerner, by birth; but his long residence in the South, and the fact that he had moved to Baltimore from Tennessee, may easily have made his neighbors less ready to quarrel with him.

CHAPTER VII

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE NORTH: POPULAR SENTIMENT

The division of the period 1808 to 1831 into four parts, as noted at the South, is not distinct at the North, and does not warrant similar treatment; we find but few clear indications of the general sentiment of the North during these years. Travelers in the North as in the South describe the attitude of the people with whom they conversed on the subject. A resident of southern Ohio gave slavery as the cause of the slower advancement of Virginia;[1] the people of southern New England are quoted as abhorring slavery so much that they would be slow to assist slaveholders in case of a slave insurrection;[2] and the earnest labor of the Northern states to eradicate slavery from themselves is referred to, and their almost universal favor for the restriction in Missouri.[3] Isaac Holmes, in an account of the United States "derived from actual observation during a residence of four years," and published in 1823, wrote freely in regard to the feeling of the Americans toward slavery. "To the honor of the inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia be it spoken, that they have done much in favor of the blacks." He asserted that in a few years slavery would not exist in New York; that in New Jersey measures had been taken for gradual emancipation; and that of the members of Congress from the Eastern states who voted for slavery in Missouri, nine out of ten had not been afterwards returned.[4] Yet J. M. Duncan, who traveled through the United States at about the same time, 1818–1819, and printed his observations in the same year, 1823, while saying that Americans "of candor" did not hesitate to acknowledge and lament the inconsistency of slavery, states that he occasionally saw in New York advertisements of slaves for sale, and Fearon, another traveler, says the same.[5]

[1] John Melish: "Travels in the United States of America," 2. 98.
[2] W. N. Blane: "An Excursion through the United States and Canada," p. 214.
[3] James Flint: "Letters from America," p. 167.
[4] Isaac Holmes: "An Account of the United States of America," pp. 324, 325.
[5] John M. Duncan: "Travels through part of the United States and Canada," 2. 251, 254; Henry B. Fearon: "Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey, etc.," p. 57.

The actual position of the negroes at the North throws a considerable light upon the attitude of that section of the country, and the reasons for it. Travelers often speak of the degradation of the negro, even in the free states, and perhaps especially in New York and New Jersey, where slavery yet existed in some measure, and the total number of negroes was much larger. The apprentice system of Ohio was considered by many to be virtual slavery, and real slavery was often the result. "This baleful practice promises a perpetuation of *practical* slavery throughout America," is the verdict of one who saw it. Another traveler was impressed by the indifference of some residents of Vincennes, Indiana, to the cruelties attached to the capture of a fugitive slave.[1] Ohio enforced in 1829 laws expelling the colored people who had taken refuge there, and drove a large number to Upper Canada, where they suffered great distress. While Massachusetts did not go so far, a committee was appointed by the Legislature, in 1821, to inquire into the expediency of such a law. The report of this committee, on January 16, 1822, states that sympathy for the African must not prevent a due regard to the morals and health of Massachusetts, which seemed endangered by the presence of so large a colored population; yet they could not prepare a bill which they could "conscientiously" report to the House, and therefore asked to be discharged from further service.[2]

W. Faux, an English farmer who visited America, says in his journal, which was published in 1823, that the people of New England took free negroes to the South and sold them for slaves. This seems impossible, unless he refers to the undoubted fact that New England had a large share in the foreign slave trade, even after its prohibition. Yet his words are clearly indicative of a real sale of free black citizens of Massachusetts, by New Englanders going to Charleston, South Carolina; and he gives some instances.[3] New York in 1818 was "but theoretically" a free state. The story is told of a colored barber who would not serve even free colored men, for in so doing he would lose the custom of the whites. The

[1] Basil Hall: "Travels in North America," 1. 139; Isaac Holmes: "An Account of the United States of America," pp. 331, 334; Fearon: "Narrative of a Journey, etc.," pp. 98, 99, 226, 264; Blane: "Travels through the United States," pp. 149–152.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 26; Niles' Weekly Register, 20. 311; Report of the committee in pamphlet form. The report is signed by Theodore Lyman, Jr., was read in the House, accepted, and signed by Josiah Quincy as Speaker.

[3] W. Faux: "Memorable Days in America," p. 37.

blacks were excluded from the churches, and from all social intercourse. "In the states of New York and New Jersey," says one of these travelers, "the treatment of Americans of color by their white countrymen is worse than that of the brute creation." Even in Philadelphia, where the anti-slavery feeling was the strongest, the "colored citizens were despised," and treated "with much contempt," the Quakers, even, allotting them separate pews.[1]

But the negro at the North was not altogether in darkness. In March, 1831, the Register of Pennsylvania printed a list of beneficiary societies of colored persons in Philadelphia. There were seventeen such societies of men, founded, one in 1795, the others between 1810 and 1830, and distributing sums varying from $18.40 to $415.19 during the year 1830–1831. There were at the same time twenty-seven societies of women, founded, one in 1796, the rest 1816 to 1830, and distributing during the same year sums varying from $15 to $428.50. The total sum so distributed was $5819.29.[2]

Interesting descriptions of the schools and churches for the colored people at the North are given. An African church in Boston, founded in 1805, had in 1813 a three-story church building, forty by forty-eight feet, the lower story used as a schoolroom for colored children, with an attendance of about forty. Other churches are spoken of as well; one in Philadelphia and one in New York, both established in 1809. The Old Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island, allowed colored members in 1813, and was likely to continue to admit them, since a legacy had been left in charge of the church for the poor colored members. "The African Improvement Society" in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1829 supported a church, a Sunday School with an average attendance of eighty, Bible classes, and an evening school.[3]

Plainly the means for the education of the colored children in the North were inadequate, although much better than at the South. In 1828 there were two schools in New Haven, a city having eight

[1] Fearon: "Narrative of a Journey, etc.," pp. 56–61, 169; John Woods: "Two Years' Residence in the . . . United States," p. 61; James Flint: "Letters from America," pp. 22, 37.

[2] Register of Pennsylvania, 7. 163. It is said to have appeared as an advertisement in the Philadelphia Gazette. Other societies are said to have existed, but to have sent no report for the year.

[3] David Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 1. 412, 488, 542, 591; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 129. There was also an "African Union Meeting and School-house" in Providence, erected during the years 1819–1821, the report of which, with rules for its future government, was published in Providence in 1821.

hundred resident negroes; three in Boston, for two thousand negroes; one in Portland, Maine, for nine hundred; three in Philadelphia, with a negro population of twenty thousand; and two in New York for fifteen thousand. Those in Boston were supported partially by a bequest for the purpose. Needles, in his history of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, speaks of a successful attempt to procure schooling for the colored children at public expense, under the laws of Pennsylvania providing for the education of poor children. A day school in New Haven containing about sixty scholars was supported for about six months of the year by the public school money, and the rest by the parents of the children. The school of which we have the fullest reports was in New York. "The New York African Free School" was mentioned in the address of the American Convention in 1828 to the societies represented. A careful report of the school was sent to this convention, with specimens of the work done there: maps, charts, pictures, essays and verses. Those children whose ages were given were from eleven to fifteen years old, and their work would compare very well with work of the same sort done by children of the same ages in the public schools of New England today. Mention is made of schools in New York in other years, and perhaps several were in existence during the period.[1]

The attitude of the people of the North as a whole may be seen in some measure by the speeches, pamphlets, and books published during the period. Extracts from the writings of some Northern travelers have already been given to show the sentiment at the South on the subject of slavery, and the treatment of the slaves. Nearly all of these also express their personal abhorrence of the

[1] There may have been others in these cities although nothing but the vaguest reference has been found, and nothing that might not be referred to the ones named in the text. See The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 47; Edward Needles: History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, p. 69. This measure was adopted by the society in 1820, but the address to the American Convention in 1821 (p. 12) says that their efforts to obtain public funds for colored schools had so far failed, although they still hoped for future success. A reading of Needles leads one to infer that the attempt was successful in 1820, but that may not have been the intention of the author.

Schools in New York are referred to in 1808 (Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1809, p. 10); 1812 (*Ibid.* for 1812, p. 26); 1826 (The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 35); 1827 (Basil Hall: "Travels in North America," 1. 29, 30); 1828 (Minutes of the American Convention for 1828, pp. 20, 29, 62); and about 1829 (Thomas Hamilton: "Men and Manners in America," pp. 55, 56). The date of the last is not definitely given. The school mentioned in the "Genius" had the fine reputation that none of those who had been on its registers for any time had been convicted of crime.

system. In 1812 Amos Stoddard, a prominent man, member of several societies, including the New York Historical Society, wrote his "Sketches of Louisiana." He deprecated the idea of a citizen of a free state sitting in judgment on those of the slave states, yet he did not feel it right to be silent. He said of slavery: "It is a stain on the character of civilized nations that slavery was ever authorized among them; and how a Christian people can reconcile it to their consciences, no one can determine, except it be on account of interest." After comparing American slavery with that of the Barbary States, he continued: "With what justice can we demand the enjoyment of a right, when at the same time we prohibit it to others?" The most substantial argument in favor of slaveholding is, in his opinion, the right of the strongest.[1]

David Thomas, a resident of New York State, published in 1819 an account of a journey through the West which he had taken in 1816. On crossing the Ohio after a stay in Virginia, he speaks of the exultation with which he at last trod a soil "uncontaminated by slavery." [2] James K. Paulding, while writing from the South in the same year, 1816, speaks of his hatred of slavery, and his ardent wish "that there was not a man in our country that could stand up and with his black finger point to the preamble of our constitution . . . and swear it was not true." [3] Estwick Evans, apparently a New Hampshire man, recounted a "Pedestrious Tour" in the South in 1818; he denounced slavery, asking: "Why do we boast of liberty when every day we violate its most sacred principles?" and quoted many Southern opposers of the system.[4]

George W. Ogden, in 1823, published letters written during a Western trip in 1821, in which, among other things, he discussed slavery. Shocking scenes of distress among the slaves are recounted, and there are violent words of execration against the system. He feels sure that prohibition in Ohio contributed greatly to the population of the state, and that it turned the current of European emigration from Kentucky and Tennessee towards Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Speaking of Kentucky he says: "A sense of propriety, and a regard for the reputation, and true interest of the

[1] Amos Stoddard: "Sketches of Louisiana," pp. 331–343.
[2] David Thomas: "Travels through the Western Country, etc.," p. 80.
[3] James K. Paulding: "Letters from the South," p. 119.
[4] Estwick Evans: "A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles, etc.," p. 216.

United States, should have taught the guardians of her public weal to wash their hands from this foul stain."[1] In 1824 Henry C. Knight, under the pen name of "Arthur Singleton, Esq.," published letters from the South and West. His humorous and exaggerated vein makes it hard to judge how far he is in earnest in regard to slavery; he repeatedly says that the slaves were well treated and cheerful, and that he himself had an instinctive dislike to call a black man brother; yet he found it "painful to reflect, that, from the sweat of the brows of these trampled wretches, do we receive many of the comforts, and luxuries, of life;" and he cannot forget the inconsistency of this "tyranny" with the boasted democracy of the slaveholders.[2]

Other writers are no less vigorous; Thomas Branagan, the author of "The Penitential Tyrant," and of other poems and prose works against slavery published in the earlier period, was a native of Dublin, Ireland. His connection with the sea gave him a knowledge of the slave trade, and his life on a West India plantation taught him the evils of slavery. In 1812 he published a book entitled "The Rights of God, Written for the Benefit of Man." The book takes up slavery as one of many abuses. After a review of the corruption and fall of the ancient nations, he contends that no nation ever had greater privileges than America, but that "it requires no spirit of divination to foresee that without repentance and reformation we must participate in the punishment, as we do the ingratitude of the favorite people of God. . . . Let us forego our national crimes, particularly the one which exhibits us to the view of angels and men, as a nation of legal impostors, and political hypocrites; I mean SLAVERY!! and we need not fear either men or devils."[3]

John Bristed, a native of England who emigrated to New York in 1806, published in 1818 a book on the "Resources of the United States," in which slavery is unsparingly denounced. "Slavery is an absolute evil, unqualified by any alloy of good. . . . In whatever light we view it, domestic slavery is a most pernicious institu-

[1] George W. Ogden: "Letters from the West," pp. 14, 80, 101. In a note on page 106 he announces that he is preparing a work on the evils of slavery which will also propose a plan for gradual abolition. There is no proof that he ever carried out his intention.

[2] Henry C. Knight: "Letters from the South and West," p. 113.

[3] James Branagan: "The Rights of God, etc.," pp. 40, etc. Capitals as in the original. For his work before 1808 see M. S. Locke: "Anti-slavery in America, 1619–1808," § 186.

tion." [1] An anonymous Pennsylvanian in 1820, said: "No *American* ever yet dared to vindicate Human Slavery in the abstract, — or to justify the bondage of his fellow man upon any other plea than that of *necessity*." [2] Another writer at about the same time, in a discussion of the Missouri Question, said: "Slavery is a disgrace to the American name. It is a blot on the human character." [3]

Charles J. Fox, in a series of essays on slavery published in the New York Commercial Advertiser in 1821, or perhaps somewhat earlier, said: "There are other numerous evils which Slavery is shedding upon our country like a poisonous blight"; such are pride, tyranny, degradation of labor and sectional animosity.[4] A correspondent from Ohio, signing himself "Franklin," declared in the same year that "slavery is an evil of the greatest magnitude," and asked why its abolition should not be hastened.[5]

Matthew Carey, a native of Ireland, emigrated to Philadelphia and entered upon literary work in 1785. It is hard to decide upon the exact position of Carey on the subject of slavery, but he shows some amount of opposition to the system. A pamphlet published in 1814, entitled "A Calm Address," treats of the subject of slave representation on the basis of political equality. In his "Miscellaneous Essays" published in 1829, there is an essay on colonization, which he apparently favored as the only means for the mitigation of the evils of slavery; and he expressed his belief that mitigation was all that could be hoped for. Another series of essays on universal emancipation, published by Carey in Philadelphia in 1827, with the pseudonym "Hamilton," and collected in the volume of essays noted above, may give more clearly his real views. The conclusions he draws are: Slavery is a great evil; immediate emancipation is unattainable, except at too high a price; the evil can be mitigated; and it is the duty of all slaveholders both to make the institution milder, and to prepare the way for immediate emancipation.[6]

[1] John Bristed: "The Resources of the United States of America," pp. 149–155, 388–392, 423–426.

[2] Darlington, "Desultory Remarks on the Missouri Question," p. 11; a quotation from the "American Republican" for Jan. 11, 1820.

[3] "The Crisis No. 1," p. 3. (This is not the pro-slavery book by Brutus.)

[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 13.

[5] *Ibid.* 1. 4.

[6] Freeman Hunt: "Lives of American Merchants," 1. 307; Carey: "Miscellaneous Essays."

Among the most vigorous attacks on slavery were the essays of "Vigornius," first printed in the Boston Recorder and Telegraph in 1825, and reissued in 1826. The writer gives a sketch of the origin of slavery, and its existence in other countries; repeatedly denies, with increasing force, our right to hold the negroes in bondage; and denounces slavery as in "flagrant opposition to the genius of our government," as "a great political evil," and as a great moral evil. In his sixth essay he declares that the "slave-holding system must be abolished," and in order to accomplish this, "immediate, determined measures" must be taken for "ultimate emancipation." He considered it unwise to free the slave with no preparation for freedom by education, thinking that the result would not be for the happiness of the slave. These essays provoked others, which were later bound together in one pamphlet. Those by "Hieronymus" have already been discussed; others were by "A Carolinian," who upheld slavery, and "Philo," who claimed to "speak the language of New England." The latter, while disclaiming all idea of immediate emancipation under existing conditions, said: "We think slavery so great a national calamity, and crime too; — one so threatening in its aspect, one which so much involves our national character, — that it ought to enlist the feelings of the whole nation." [1]

Two descriptions of the dark side of slavery deserve mention here. "A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery," by Jesse Torrey, was written in 1816 and first published in 1817. The book gives anecdotes and illustrations of slavery, and strongly advocates the instruction of the slaves, and their preparation for freedom, which was "surely coming." [2] John Kenrick, originally a Baptist, later a Quaker, in a pamphlet entitled "The Horrors of Slavery," gave a recital of the dark side of slave life, with little suggestion of how to better it.[3]

At some period before 1831 Ebenezer Dole, of Hallowell, Maine, offered fifty dollars to the Pennsylvania Abolition Society for the

[1] A series of essays appearing in the Boston Recorder and Telegraph in 1825, republished, with other essays, by Hieronymus, Philo, and A Carolinian, in Amherst, in 1826. The quotations are from pp. 8, 13, 16–19, 24, 32, 35. For the other essays see above, pp. 40, 41.

[2] A second edition was issued in 1818. The order of the paragraphs was so changed in this edition that without close examination it seems very different from the first. It is, however, practically identical with it.

[3] For some account of Kenrick see Samuel R. Brown: "The Western Gazetteer," p. 92; "Journal of the Life and Religious Labors of John Comly," pp. 256, 257.

best essay addressing Christians on the subject of slavery, being himself convinced of the sin of slaveholding. Evan Lewis wrote the successful essay, which was published by the Pennsylvania society in 1831. It is a strong denunciation of slavery and recommendation of the subject as one most suited to the labors of Christian ministers; advises the exclusion of all slaveholders from communion; and speaks of various religious bodies which had already set the example of opposition to slavery.[1]

There were two other publications during this period which were of value to the later anti-slavery advocates. Caleb Bingham's "Columbian Orator," in the edition of 1814, contained a dialogue between master and slave which was later used by Frederick Douglass with great effect.[2] The second of these books is the collection of slave laws published in 1827 by George M. Stroud of Philadelphia, a work distinctly anti-slavery in character, although the author had "never been a member of any abolition or anti-slavery society.[3]

Several plans for emancipation were proposed by Northern writers during the period between 1808 and 1831. Amos Stoddard, in 1812, strongly recommended the passing of laws to free the *post nati*, though advising caution, owing to the long-standing habits of the slaveholders. Estwick Evans proposed the purchase of the slaves by the central government, and their emancipation when they had worked out their purchase money. Several are published in the "Genius" for 1821; one demanded something more speedy than had already been done, and recommended that Congress should prohibit the domestic slave trade after ten or twenty years; another, quoted from the Philanthropist, proposed that a census be taken, and the proportion of blacks and whites made alike in all the states; then he thought the slave states could be persuaded to abolish slavery, and give to the freedman education and the rights of citizenship.[4]

[1] Evan Lewis: "Address to Christians of all Denominations, etc." The date of writing is not exactly noted.

[2] The Columbian Orator, edition of 1814, p. 240.

[3] Nothing is known of Stroud, save what is found in the preface to his book, which is dated at Philadelphia. A second edition of the work, published in 1856, had a preface even more anti slavery than that of the first. The text is not identical, the latter being more comprehensive. References in this work are given to both editions.

[4] Amos Stoddard: "Sketches of Louisiana," pp. 331–343; Estwick Evans: "A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles," p. 214; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 43; from a New York correspondent of the National Intelligencer.

As can be readily seen from the quotations given, there was little suggestion of immediate emancipation during this period, 1808–1831; yet that remedy was not left entirely without advocates, and some at least of these were as strong in their language as the later writers. A correspondent of the "Genius" in 1829 believed in immediate emancipation, on the ground that if slavery was right anywhere for a day it would be right for a year or forever. He did not think there would be danger from freeing the slaves, — but if he was wrong, and somebody must suffer, he wished it to be the whites, "for the blacks have suffered long enough."[1] In 1824 James Duncan published a distinct appeal for immediate emancipation, in Vevay, Indiana, under the title "Treatise on Slavery." The entire book might be summed up in one phrase: slavery is wrong from all standpoints. His method was to define and narrate the history of slavery; and to set forth arguments on both sides, with a clear refutation of those favoring slavery. He declared slavery "a heinous sin"; "gradualism" he denounced as a partaker of the same kind of "moral turpitude" as the ordinary unlimited slavery, though possibly in a less aggravated degree; and it had no advantage over life bondage, if the slave were to be held till he was twenty-five or twenty-eight years of age.[2]

The strongest and most uncompromising plea for immediate emancipation,[3] during the period under discussion, was published in 1816, by George Bourne, a native of England who resided for the most of his life in New York City. Bourne lived for seven years in Virginia, and obtained a distinct view of slavery as it actually existed. He was a learned and ardent controversialist and wrote many articles on Romanism and slavery. He was persecuted for his anti-slavery opinions, but persevered, and converted others to his belief. Can words by the immediate emancipationists of the new era be found which surpass in intensity these from the

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 41; a letter from a correspondent in Sadsbury, Penn., dated Oct. 1829. It expresses pleasure at the attitude taken on the subject of slavery by the "Genius."

[2] "William Lloyd Garrison, 1808–1879," 1. 144; James Duncan: "A Treatise on Slavery." The quotations are from pp. 25, 123.

[3] Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography; Theodore D. Weld: "American Slavery As It Is," p. 52; George Bourne: "The Book and Slavery Irreconcileable." The quotations are from pp. 3, 4, 7, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 39, 53, 58, 89, 106, 120, 133, 134. The capitals and italics are as in the original. It is of interest to note in connection with his remark with reference to colonization that the book was written before the foundation of the American Colonization Society.

introduction to his book? "Every man who holds Slaves and who pretends to be a Christian or a Republican, is either an incurable Idiot who cannot distinguish good from evil, or an obdurate sinner who resolutely defies every social, moral and divine requisition." He denounces moderation, and declares that "their guilt against God and Man who hold Slaves in Columbia, is exactly equal with his criminality, who sails to Congo, and kidnaps a cargo of Negroes"; on the ground that the receiver is as bad as the thief. He especially denounces those who upheld slavery from the Bible, and on religious grounds, and maintains that "had this compound of all corruption no connection with the Church of Christ; however deleterious are the effects of it in political society, however necessary is its immediate and total abolition, and however pregnant with danger to the *Union* is the prolongation of the system; to Legislators and Civilians, the redress of the evil would have been committed." Slaveholding Christians are compared with Balaam, Achan, Delilah, Judas, and like characters.

The second chapter declares that the Bible justifies the slave in escaping; and he denounces the fugitive slave laws. The trial of negroes is called "the highest burlesque upon the administration of justice, that despotism ever devised." Slavery is stigmatized as impious, cruel, false and unjust, "incompatible with the Gospel," "a flagrant violation of every law of God, nature and society." "Christianity will always abolish slavery; no danger attaches to an immediate and universal emancipation; and the only effectual mode to eradicate the evil is to destroy *thieving by law*." After the denunciation of the idea of compensation, and the mention of the fact that the laws in many states hinder emancipation, he says: "No human law must be obeyed when it contravenes the divine command; but slavery is the combination of all iniquity, and therefore every man is obligated not to participate in its corruption." Can anything more subversive of law be found in the later writers? It certainly seems possible that Garrison learned something from this old writer, with whose work he was acquainted. Bourne continues: "The national difficulty is not from emancipation, but from servitude. . . . A man in the Slave-states who claims no Negroes is *despised;* if he has kidnapped a score, he is a *Gentleman;* but if he has stolen a hundred, he is a Nabob. Every plea and excuse in support of Slavery being invalid, originating in de-

pravity, sustained by corruption, and productive of all diversified ungodliness, no *Christian* can allege, or defend them, or practice the iniquity which they are formed to exculpate. . . . How shall we expel the evil? Colonization is totally impracticable. The enaction of a law to exclude Slave holders from every Public Office, would instantly destroy the pestilence which ravages the body politic: — all other regulations are futile." These are but a few selections from this book; many others equally strong might be cited. The whole is a vehement arraignment of slavery and the slaveholders, and on the whole the strongest extant anti-slavery writing during the period.

CHAPTER VIII

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE NORTH: NEWSPAPERS, RESOLUTIONS, LEGISLATION. THE COLORED CITIZEN

While no newspaper at the North was devoted to the interests of abolition as was "The Genius of Universal Emancipation" at the South, and while few philanthropic papers had as even one chief aim among others the freedom of the slave, some editors can still be found who expressed in their published work a certain amount of repugnance to slavery. An instance is an editorial in "The Village Record" of West Chester, Pennsylvania, about 1821, which said: "Whilst slavery exists in this land, it is the solemn duty of every good man constantly and steadily to press for its abolition." [1]

The first periodical published at the North which had any distinct purpose to discuss slavery was "The Philanthropist," founded by Charles Osborn in 1817, and already discussed; the strongest words against slavery in the first two volumes are selections from other papers, and communications from St. Clairsville, in all probability from the pen of Lundy.[2] Other papers were "The African Observer," of which no account has been found, save the proposals for its monthly publication in Philadelphia, by Enoch Lewis, and the statement in 1827 that it had "been for some time published" there; [3] and "Freedom's Journal," a weekly newspaper edited in New York by a colored man, John B. Russwurm.[4]

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 20. Several quotations from this paper appear in the various volumes of the "Genius." Other papers of the same kind were "The Boston Recorder," which is referred to by Leonard W. Bacon as anti-slavery in 1828; "The Boston Recorder and Telegraph," very likely the same paper as that mentioned by Mr. Bacon, which published the series of essays by Vigornius and others in 1825 (see above, pp. 40, 41, 78); and "The Journal of the Times," of Bennington, Vt., while under the editorship of W. L. Garrison (see above, p. 67).

[2] See above, p. 60. Lundy certainly wrote for this paper, from St. Clairsville, and it is likely that all the communications from that place were from him. In a single instance strong words are used in an unsigned article, which may have been an editorial, but hardly reads like one. See the Philanthropist, 1. 1.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 152 (the number 152 is repeated, this reference is to the second page of that number); Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1827, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.*; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 152 (the first page of that number); see below, p. 93. Copies of this paper are still extant.

"The New England Weekly Review"[1] was apparently founded in 1828, as Lundy says of it in that year: "We think it will contribute much towards the acceleration of principles favorable to the total abolition of slavery." He quotes from it as follows: "All are aware that the slavery which exist[s] in these states is a deadly and cancerous sore upon the vitals of the Commonwealth — that it must be eradicated — or the nation dies!" The question of the antagonism of the North and the South is often taken up in this paper. In the number for February 8, 1830, an editorial by Prentice abuses the South for its abuse of New England. "The curse of slavery is upon our Southern States — it is a loathsome deformity upon their bodies — and like all other deformed objects, they revile in their hearts those who are more comely than themselves." The writer feels that New England should no longer tamely stand the abuse of the South, even though retaliation should bring on a civil war, — which, however, he thought would be easily and speedily closed by the liberation of the slaves. A paper in the South accused him of advocating civil war, but he denied this, only maintaining that war would be better than constant tame submission to ill-treatment. In the number for June 7, 1830, these words are found, doubtless also from the pen of Prentice: "Let them [the South] set themselves seriously to work to get rid of their slaves, and they will do themselves more good than would be effected by the abrogation of fifty tariffs." In the number for July 26 these words are quoted as the cause of fresh outbursts which had come from the South, and the editor, now John G. Whittier, spoke in still stronger terms against the system. After saying that the previous article had aroused indignation "because it was true," and that the North was accused of denouncing the principles of slavery, it continues: "We *do* denounce the *principles* of slavery, God forbid that any Christian — any patriot — any friend of liberty and equal rights should fail to do so. There is no monster of inconsistency like him who boasts of his republicanism and his love of liberty, and in the same breath defends in the abstract the accursed system of slavery. . . . We believe that a large proportion of the inhabitants of the South are truly and fearfully sensible of the criminality of

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 182. Numbers of the paper from December 14, 1829, to March 12, 1832, have been found. The editor was at first George D. Prentice; from July, 1830, to January, 1832, the paper was edited by John G. Whittier. After that date no editor is named.

the principle, and tremble for the consequences of it — even as did the illustrious Jefferson when contemplating the same appalling subject. These have our sympathy. We lament this evil which has been entailed upon them, and would gladly coöperate with them in the great cause of Emancipation." Other articles advocate the American Colonization Society and speak of the excitement caused at the South by the circulation of Walker's "Appeal."

"The Investigator," published in 1827–1828, in Providence, Rhode Island, by William Goodell, was devoted to moral and political discussion and reformation in general, including temperance and anti-slavery. In January, 1829, it was merged into "The National Philanthropist"; in July, 1830, moved to New York, and published as "The Genius of Temperance"; and was entirely discontinued in 1833. At the time when Garrison first issued "The Liberator," in January, 1831, there was no other paper in the North devoted in even a slight degree to the abolition of slavery.

A more definite measure of anti-slavery sentiment than any words spoken or written by individuals is found in the public action of the citizens of the states by meetings or resolutions denouncing slavery. The first attempt to enforce the fugitive slave law in Boston resulted in failure. The slave was rescued by force in the midst of the trial, and escaped without waiting for further legal proceedings. An attempt at prosecution for failure to enforce the act was disregarded, and the fugitive slave law was practically void in Massachusetts until the later period.[1] An abolition society existed in Williams College which reported itself to the American Convention in 1826 as "anxious that this foul stain shall be wiped from the annals of our country and that the judgments of Heaven . . . may be averted." [2]

In 1819 there was a rumor that some citizens of Ohio wished to amend the constitution of that state to allow slavery, and several gentlemen "of the first respectability" wrote to Niles' Register denying the implication, and representing it as a "calumny raised to prevent necessary reform." [3] An interesting commentary on the attitude of Ohio in 1822 is the fact that William Henry Harrison,

[1] Marion G. McDougall: "Fugitive Slaves (1619–1865)," § 34.
[2] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1826, p. 19.
[3] Niles' Weekly Register, 16. 347.

in a campaign speech in the Ohio Congressional election, thought it wise to dwell upon and even exaggerate his anti-slavery sentiments.[1] A number of citizens of Ohio petitioned the General Assembly in the latter part of 1822 against the negro code in force in that state. After declaring slavery to be a "flagrant violation of Christianity," etc., they ask for a repeal of the act forbidding the witness of blacks against whites. A bill in answer to this was presented in the next session, but was rejected in the House of Representatives by a vote of 36 to 31.[2]

Perhaps the earliest evidence of a movement to build up an anti-slavery political party was an attempt in Philadelphia, in 1820, to get up what its projectors called an "anti-slavery" ticket for electors of President and Vice-President of the United States.[3] "Almost every man in Pennsylvania is opposed to negro slavery," said Niles. With but one or two exceptions every Senator and Representative to the national Congress from Pennsylvania supported restriction in the new state of Missouri.[4] Judge Hemphill, Congressman from Philadelphia, failed to support his colleague, Miner, in his resolution for abolition in the District of Columbia, in 1826–1827, and Lundy finds in this the reason for his defeat in the Congressional election of 1827.[5] In 1821 the Legislature of Maryland complained to Congress that the people of Pennsylvania prevented the recovery of fugitive slaves. They maintained that it was the "duty" of Congress to enact a law which would prevent this. The trouble did not cease, for the Maryland Legislature sent in 1823 a message in much the same terms directly to the Legislature of Pennsylvania. A counter-memorial insisted that no law was broken, that lawful claimants could obtain their slaves by legal means, but that if they tried force they justly failed.[6]

The literary society of Princeton College held many debates on slavery during the years 1808–1810. Professor McLean was an outspoken friend of abolition, and some of the leaders of the later free-soil movement resided in Princeton.[7]

[1] Jacob P. Dunn: "Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery," p. 311.
[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 93, 111.
[3] Niles' Weekly Register, 19. 129.
[4] Edward Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," p. 69.
[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 149.
[6] American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. 2, No. 506, p. 752; Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," pp. 73–76.
[7] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 27, 28.

The larger number of meetings, memorials and petitions in the North during these years were directed against the extension of slavery into Missouri. The Boston committee of 1819 to prepare a memorial on the subject included Daniel Webster, George Blake, Josiah Quincy, James T. Austin and John Gallison; and they used the significant phrase: "If the progress of this great evil is ever to be arrested, it seems to the undersigned that this is the time to arrest it." [1] The interested people of Newport, Rhode Island, in a meeting at the State House in 1819, on the call of a circular letter from New York, drew up a memorial which declared slavery to be "inconsistent with the genius of our republican institutions," and productive of "fatal effects on the principles and morals of men." They further pointed out that the slave trade could not be practically stopped if slavery were extended.[2] A memorial from Hartford, Connecticut, at about the same time, pronounced slavery an evil and repugnant to republicans.[3] In a New York meeting slavery *per se* was denounced, and an "Address to the American People" was framed and adopted.[4] A mass meeting at the State House at Trenton, New Jersey, also passed resolutions of the same tenor.[5] A meeting of citizens of Chester County, Pennsylvania, on November 27, 1819, adopted resolutions stating the impolicy and the injustice of the admission of Missouri as a slave state, and a circular was prepared to be sent to all the members of Congress from Pennsylvania.[6]

A petition was presented to the United States Senate in January, 1830, by citizens of Maine, praying for abolition in the District of Columbia.[7] This is the sole petition from the North recorded on any other topic than restriction in Missouri.

It is interesting as well as important in this connection to look carefully at the legislative action of the various Northern states

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 241; also a pamphlet copy of the memorial.

[2] American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. 2, No. 479, p. 568. This was read in the Senate in January, 1820. See Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 2452.

[3] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 2457; American State Papers, Misc., Vol. II, No. 481, p. 472.

[4] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 199; Isaac Holmes: "An Account of the United States of America," p. 325. This may have been the "circular letter" referred to at Newport.

[5] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 189. The text is given.

[6] William Darlington: "Desultory Remarks on the Missouri Question," p. 4. Memorials against slavery in Missouri were also sent to Congress by citizens of Ohio (Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 361), New Haven, Conn. (*Ibid.* 69), and Philadelphia (*Ibid.* 737; Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 241).

[7] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 142.

on the subject of slavery during the years 1808–1831. The question of slavery in Illinois will be more fully treated in a succeeding chapter, but a brief résumé is not out of place here. In 1812 the Legislature of Illinois Territory passed a law forbidding the immigration of free negroes, and enjoining the registration of those already there, under severe penalties;[1] and in 1814 the same Legislature passed a law allowing the hire of slaves from outside of the Territory, such hire not to affect the title of the owner to the slave.[2] Slavery had existed in Illinois under the French, and the slaves thus held were not adjudged free by the later regulations of the constitution.[3] The constitution of 1818 declared that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state." There was considerable discussion at the time of the admission of the state to the Union as to whether this constitution did in reality prohibit slavery with a sufficient amount of explicitness to entitle Illinois to be counted among the free states. Tallmadge of New York decidedly opposed its admission, on the ground that slavery was allowed.[4] There is still a question whether the framers of the constitution wished a distinct prohibition of the institution, as they manifestly considered the negro not entitled to all the privileges of the whites. There were some regulations which seemed to favor the blacks: slaves holden in other states could not be hired by citizens of Illinois, except to work in the salt mines near Shawneetown, nor for longer than one year, nor after the year 1825; and the abuse of forced apprenticeship was regulated by the condition that indentures could not be made out of the state, nor for more than one year; while children of indentured servants were to be free at majority. Yet the existence of the indenture system was in itself a menace to the negro because it easily might lead to a real slavery; the practice of hiring slaves under certain conditions did in a measure recognize slavery; and the colored man was excluded from the franchise and the militia.[5] The doubtful position of Illinois on the question seems to have continued after its admission to the Union, for about 1819 a law was passed providing that all negroes found in that state without certificates should be considered runaways, subject to be arrested, hired out, and advertised.

[1] Burke A. Hinsdale: "The Old Northwest," p. 354.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 358. [4] *Ibid.* p. 359.
[5] John C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 132, 133.

If they were not claimed within a year, they were then to receive a certificate. This law was still in force in 1829.[1]

The Territory of Indiana went still further in installing slavery. From 1807 to 1810 it had an indenture law in force which all but established the institution there.[2] The constitution adopted in 1816 definitely prohibited slavery and nullified indentures made out of the state. The bill of rights also declared all men free and equal, though the franchise was in set terms limited to the whites.[3] In 1816 a law was passed to prevent manstealing;[4] in 1824 a law regulating the question of fugitive slaves gave to both parties the right of appeal, and decreed that in case of appeal the trial should be before a jury.[5]

New Jersey passed a gradual emancipation act in 1804, and in 1818 the Legislature prohibited under heavy penalties "the exportation of slaves or servants of color out of the state." In 1820 a further emancipation act was passed, but slavery was not even nominally abolished till 1846, and even as late as 1860 a few slaves still remained in the state.[6]

In 1808 the Legislature of New York increased the penalty for kidnapping by making the second offence punishable with life imprisonment, and by more efficient legislation against slave dealers. The New York Abolition Society, in December, 1808, expressed satisfaction at the promptitude with which the state Legislature had at all times enacted laws at their instance for the relief of the blacks.[7] In 1809 manumission was further facilitated; in 1810 the law of 1801 was strengthened by prohibiting the importation of slaves by residents of New York, nine months being accounted a residence; indentures for the service of a person before held as a slave in another state were to be invalid, and the slave who was to become free at twenty-one must be taught to read.[8] In 1814 the Legislature authorized the raising of two regiments of colored

[1] John C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 134, 135.
[2] B. A. Hinsdale: "The Old Northwest," p. 353.
[3] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 127; Niles' Weekly Register, 13. 86, 89–91.
[4] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 127.
[5] This law was declared unconstitutional in 1849. Hurd: "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 129.
[6] William Goodell: "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," p. 115; Niles' Weekly Register, 15. 104.
[7] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1809, p. 9.
[8] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 54.

soldiers, the commissioned officers to be white, with the provision that slaves might with the consent of their masters be enlisted and when discharged should be considered manumitted.[1] In 1817 a complete abolition act was passed in New York, setting forth that on July 4, 1827, "every negro, mulatto, or mustee within this state, born before the fourth day of July, 1799, be free," and "all negroes, mulattoes, and mustees born after July 4th, 1799, shall be free, — males at the age of 28 years and females at the age of 25 years." On July 4, 1827, ten thousand slaves were thus freed, without compensation to their former owners.[2] Since this act only applied to slaves born in the state of New York, an additional act was passed in 1828, applicable to slaves born elsewhere. Those coming to reside in the state were allowed to bring with them slaves born between July 4, 1796, and July 4, 1827, and to hold them to service till the ages of 25 and 27, if brought between March 31, 1817 and the passage of the act, and till 21 years, if brought after its passage. The same law declared every person, white or colored, born in the state of New York, to be free, and all thereafter born, and every person brought into the state as a slave, except the express cases previously authorized, were to be immediately freed.[3]

In Pennsylvania, in 1826 or 1827, the Legislature decreed that all sales of fugitive slaves who at the time of sale were in Pennsylvania should be void, and all attempts to remove such slaves should be punishable by a fine of $500.[4]

Besides the statutes which expressed a growing antipathy to slavery, many anti-slavery resolutions were passed by the Legislatures of the Northern states, especially New York and Pennsylvania. They concerned principally slavery extension in Missouri, and abolition in the District of Columbia.[5] One, in New

[1] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 54.

[2] *Ibid.* 2. 55; Niles' Weekly Register, 12. 144; Goodell: "Slavery and Anti-Slavery," p. 114.

[3] This was inserted in the same form in the revised statutes of 1830. J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 57; Revised Statutes of New York, 1830, pp. 4–7.

[4] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 72.

[5] Those against further extension of slavery were adopted by Pennsylvania in December, 1819 (Darlington: "Desultory Remarks on the Missouri Question," p. 5; "Liberty," p. 69; Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 287, 296; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 70); by New Jersey (Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 342; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 234), New York (Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 309; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 311; "Liberty," p. 42), and Ohio (Niles'

Jersey, adopted in 1818, asked Congress to use its endeavors to prohibit the transportation of slaves contrary to the laws of any state concerned.[1] There were also a few resolutions favoring gradual emancipation, adopted by New Jersey [2] in 1824, by Ohio [3] in the same year, and by Pennsylvania [4] in 1826. These all declare that slavery being a national evil should be removed by the nation, and that all the states, free and slave alike, should share in the duty and burden of its removal.

Up to this point we have considered practically only the white citizens of the United States, who showed in some public manner their opposition to slavery. Even among the free states there were some which denied the franchise to the colored man. In the South the lack of education for either free or slave kept the colored man impotent, and fear of the whites had a still greater effect; hence no definite account has been found of any real anti-slavery work by the colored people there, save assistance to fugitives and comfort and sympathy to the abused, when it was possible. Nominally the negro at the North was free to express his opinions and to labor in behalf of his race, so far as it was allowed to any class of persons. Yet their participation was small, considering their number; how small we can only understand when we remember how low was the position actually held by the blacks, even at the North. Few were educated sufficiently to write or speak publicly in behalf of their people; fewer still had the money or social position to put their sayings or writings into a form preserved to our day. Under the circumstances the fact that we have any record of such negroes is almost wonderful.

Weekly Register, 17. 399) in 1820. In November, 1820, after the passage of the Missouri Compromise, resolutions asking for prohibition of slavery in new states were passed by the Legislatures of New York (Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 23), and Vermont (*Ibid.* 78).

Resolutions against slavery in the District of Columbia were adopted by Pennsylvania in 1828 (William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 411; Register of Debates, 5. 180; Niles' Weekly Register, 35. 363), and 1829 ("Liberty," p. 69; Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1829, p. 24); and by New York in 1829 (Niles' Weekly Register, 35. 433; Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 412). One had been previously offered in Ne York in 1827 (The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 152), but there is no record of its passage.

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 19. 195.

[2] Eighth Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 41; Brutus: "The Crisis," p. 137; Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st Session, 1428; T. C. Smith, "The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest," p. 6.

[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 15 (monthly edition), and 5. 165, 202 (weekly edition); Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 411 A resolution asking for a definite law freeing the *post nati* on condition of colonization was rejected in the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1826 (The Genius, 5. 179).

A general account of the condition and treatment of the colored race at the North has already been given, and of the degradation and contempt to which they were subjected. There were a few, however, who were educated and prosperous, and whose reputation has descended to our day. One of the best known of these was James Forten, of Philadelphia. He was spoken of in 1823 as a sailmaker of good education and as prosperous in his business; he owned a country residence, and kept a carriage. His children compared favorably with whites in capacity and acquirement. In 1813 he made an appeal to the Senate of Pennsylvania against slavery, claimed an equality with the whites, and spoke of the "unalienable rights" of the blacks.[1] Russell Parrott, another colored Pennsylvanian, made an address at the celebration of the abolition of the slave trade, on January 1, 1816, in which he expressed the sympathy of the free blacks for their brethren in slavery. He claimed that the inferiority of the African was the result of his condition, and that in him were all the materials for the making of a good and useful citizen.[2]

Samuel Cornish, a colored man living probably in New York, in 1826 wrote a remonstrance against the abuse of the blacks, which was printed in some of the local papers. He contended that the conduct of the lower class of the whites in New York was worse than that of the blacks; that there were plenty of colored men of education and refinement, and of independent means, who deplored the acts of the mass. The evils of negro behavior were laid to emancipation, but in truth they were the result of slavery. Cornish himself possessed some education, his father was a man of high respectability, and his wife was well educated and cultivated.[3]

Other names of prominent negroes are mentioned in the report of the convention of colored men in 1832. The first convention, held in 1830, was called by a circular issued by Rev. Richard Allen, Cyrus Black, Junius C. Morel, Benjamin Pascal, and James E. Cornish, in behalf of the colored citizens of Philadelphia. Nearly all mentioned in this report had been residents of Pennsylvania, where it is probable that the colored man was in a better

[1] James Forten: "Letters from a Man of Color on a Late Bill, etc.," pp. 1–8.

[2] The address exists in pamphlet form, as published at the request of the African Benevolent Societies before whom it was delivered.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 92.

situation than farther North. This convention was held for the purpose of arranging some plan of operation by which the more prosperous of the race could aid the colony in Canada, which was suffering great distress. Nearly all had gone there from Ohio, after the enforcement of the expulsory laws; and their number was increased from time to time by fugitive slaves from the States. For a considerable number of years they received assistance from the United States, presumably from their own race. Conventions for the purpose were held in at least three successive years: 1830, 1831, and 1832.[1]

A negro of considerable note was John B. Russwurm, a native of Jamaica, who was graduated in 1825 from Bowdoin College. He is later mentioned as the editor of "Freedom's Journal," in New York, and still later became Governor of Maryland in Liberia.[2]

But the most widely known colored man of this period, and the only one whose writings made any stir at the South, was David Walker, a resident of Boston. He was born in North Carolina, in 1785, of a free mother and slave father, and was therefore free. He was intelligent and had a moderate education; he traveled widely over the United States, and in 1827 opened a second hand clothing store on Brattle Street, in Boston. He felt very strongly on the subject of slavery, and in 1827 began to make preparations for a slave insurrection, addressing audiences of colored men in Boston and other places in 1828. In September, 1829, he published his "Appeal," which ran through three editions in less than twelve months, and was widely distributed throughout the United States, even at the South, and among the slaves. The projected insurrection never took place; some think because of the death of Walker in 1830. Some authors, especially the more popular ones writing just before the Civil War, speak of his death as caused by foul play, but there is no ground for this opinion save an unauthenticated rumor which spread somewhat among the colored people, but was refuted by those who knew most about the facts of the case.[3]

[1] Minutes of the Second Annual Convention of Free Colored People in the United States, 1832, p. 16.

[2] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1827, p. 13; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 33, where an extract from his Commencement Oration is given. See also the Catalogue of Bowdoin Alumni.

[3] "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879," 1. 159, note; Samuel J. May: "Some Recollections of our Anti-Slavery Conflict," p. 133.

Walker's "Appeal" is a most bloodthirsty document. It divides human, or rather "black, wretchedness" into four heads: 1. "Our wretchedness in consequence of slavery"; 2. "Our wretchedness in consequence of ignorance"; 3. "Our wretchedness in consequence of the preachers of the religion of Jesus Christ"; 4. "Our wretchedness in consequence of the colonizing plan." It appeals to the free colored men throughout the nation to make the cause of the slave their own. The third edition, published in March, 1830, in a form even more sanguinary, openly advocated a slave insurrection. No wonder that before the printing of the second edition it caused great consternation at the South. The Mayor of Savannah wrote to Mayor Otis of Boston, demanding the punishment of the man. Mayor Otis, in a widely published letter,[1] expressed his unqualified disapproval of the pamphlet, but stated that the man had not yet become "amenable" to the laws. He felt that while this was true a public notice of the book would do more harm than good. Great excitement prevailed in Virginia,[2] especially in the Legislature, which considered the passage of an "extraordinary bill," not only prohibiting the circulation of such seditious papers, but forbidding the education of even free negroes, calling any assemblage for the purpose of education "unlawful." This bill was the direct result of a message of Governor Giles, who enclosed a copy of a letter received from Mayor Otis. The House of Delegates passed the measure, 81 to 80; but it was rejected in the Senate, 11 to 7. Some copies of the "Appeal" found their way to Louisiana,[3] where the popular excitement already roused by the discovery of a supposed plot was made still greater. A very severe law was immediately passed, expelling all free negroes who had arrived in the state since 1825.

This publication was made the pretext for a large number of attacks upon the abolitionists, and later perhaps upon Garrison. Few abolitionists, however, approved of it; Garrison certainly did not.[4] The general attitude of the people was that stated by Mayor Otis, in his letter to the Governor of Virginia already re-

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 38. 87.
[2] The Abolitionist Monthly, 1. 98; George W. Williams: "History of the Negro Race in America," 2. 553.
[3] Niles' Weekly Register, 38. 157.
[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 147.

ferred to: "You may be assured that your good people cannot hold in more absolute detestation the sentiments of the writer [of the "Appeal"] than do all the people of this city, and as I verily believe, the mass of the New England population. . . . I have reason to believe that the book is disapproved of by the decent portion even of the free colored population in this place." Lundy, too, found the people of New England hard to move when he made his visit there in 1827, and while many individuals were opposed to slavery there was little organized effort until the beginning of the new anti-slavery era, with Garrison and the "Liberator."

CHAPTER IX

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES

On a question involving so many moral issues, appealing so directly to the fundamental principles of Christianity, it seems natural to expect from the churches and their spiritual guides an interest and an influence in anti-slavery measures. As a whole, however, they showed great indifference towards the matter. Indeed, in many cases it was worse than indifference; clergymen presented reasoned apologies for the system, they carefully prepared arguments in its behalf, they even actively participated in its horrors. Because of these undeniable facts, the entire clergy and all the religious societies are often accused of, at best, a weak yielding to the greater power of the slaveholder, and an upholding or a sharing of his deeds for the sake of self-protection.

Whatever the ground for blame against the clergymen of the United States during this period, it is not true that decided efforts to check the evils of slavery or to prohibit it utterly were entirely wanting either among them or among the churches to whom they ministered. The action of a good number of Southern ministers in leaving their homes for new ones in the free state of Ohio, and their labors in behalf of abolition, have already been spoken of. Some of these so influenced their Southern churches that they emigrated to free states either as individuals or as a body.[1]

The attitude of a comparatively small number of clergymen and of a few local churches cannot be taken as proofs of the attitude of the religious bodies to which they belong. It is therefore important to seek clear proof both of anti-slavery sentiment among larger religious bodies, and of their distinct expression of this sentiment. David Thomas, a resident of New York, stated, in a book published in 1819, that whole religious societies had relinquished the practice of slavery. "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," in an editorial written in 1827, said that though

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 170. See above, pp. 17, 18, 58–62.

The Methodists and Friends were the most active in this direction, there were many Presbyterians, Baptists, and other denominations interested.[1] Evan Lewis, in a paper printed in 1831 but written earlier, spoke of the Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, and of the Baptists in the West, as taking up the question of slavery as a religious duty, and said of the Presbyterians in the West: "Their resolution appears to be formed never to cease their efforts until their society is purged from the sin of slavery."

The Methodists had a well equipped system of state conferences which had power to lay down rules of discipline for the churches, and many of their leaders were anti-slavery men. Bishop Asbury stated in his Journal that in North Carolina the masters were afraid of the influence of the Methodists over the blacks. Candler recalled a casual conversation in Virginia, about 1824, with a farmer who was sure that the traveler was a "Methodist parson" because he professed to think labor not degrading to the whites.[2]

More definite and convincing are the votes of the organized bodies. In 1812 the General Conference of the Methodist Church, meeting in New York, adopted a resolution providing that no slaveholder should be eligible to the office of local elder in any state or territory in which he could legally manumit his slaves.[3] In 1824 a clause was added stating that if a traveling preacher should in any way become the owner of slaves, he must "forfeit his ministerial character . . . unless he execute if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state in which he lives."[4] The Quarterly Conference of the Cambridge Circuit, Maryland, adopted in 1826 unanimous resolutions which denounced slavery and pointed out the inconsistency of allowing the lay-members of the churches to hold slaves while the officials were forbidden to do so. They also declared their intention to use all possible efforts to obtain from the General Conference a rule forbidding the admission to church membership of a slaveholder who would not manumit his slaves, where the law allowed.[5] Even

[1] David Thomas: "Travels through the Western Country," p. 80; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 174.

[2] Isaac Candler: "A Summary View of America," p. 253; "The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury," 3. 258.

[3] "The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury," 3. 326; N. Bangs: "A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," 2. 316.

[4] Bangs: "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," 3. 274.

[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 252.

in the cotton states the Methodists had something of this feeling, for in 1825 the Bishop of Georgia told a traveler that the Methodists in the state were considering the advisability of making a rule requiring all of their members to free their slaves.[1] Unfortunately the Methodist Church of the South eventually felt itself bound to protect and defend slavery, even to the point of complete separation from its denominational brethren in the North.

The Presbyterian Church was well qualified to influence public opinion through its annual General Assembly, the most powerful ecclesiastical body in America; and among its leading men were some prominent opponents of slavery. Comparatively few of the churches were in the slave states; hence, perhaps, the somewhat more decided though spasmodic action. In answer to a petition in 1815 the General Assembly reported that they were not strong enough as a body for decided action on the subject of slavery, but a resolution was passed regretting the continuance of the institution and recommending the education of slaves as a preparation for future emancipation.[2] In 1816 they went backward,[3] by erasing some strong words against manstealing adopted in 1795. In 1818 the anti-slavery element obtained a larger influence. By a unanimous vote they declared slavery "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God . . . and as totally irreconcileable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ," the Golden Rule. They expressed their sympathy with those in the slave states who were doing all they legally could for their slaves, recommended patronage of the Colonization Society, education of slaves, the discountenancing of all cruelty, and the suspension of any church member who should sell a Christian slave. They still admitted slaveholders to church office, however.[4] In 1823 or 1824 unsuccessful resolutions were introduced to exclude slaveholders from the ministry, and to deny the communion to slave traders. "The very making of them was a good symptom," although they were both negatived.[5]

[1] Stephen Grellet; see S. B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 219.
[2] George Bourne: "Picture of Slavery in the United States of America," p. 184; "Liberty," p. 77; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 36.
[3] Bourne: "Picture of Slavery," pp. 187, 188.
[4] Niles' Weekly Register, 16, Supplement, p. 153; Samuel J. May: "Some Recollections of our Anti-Slavery Conflict," p. 11; John D. Paxton: "Letters on Slavery," pp. 2, 3; "Liberty," p. 78. [5] Candler: "A Summary View of America," p. 323.

The action of the individual synods and presbyteries was much more distinctly anti-slavery than that of the General Assembly. The Synod of Kentucky recommended the American Colonization Society in 1823, and in 1830 enjoined the churches to raise money for Liberia. In 1825 it directed the ministers to pay more attention to the religious education of the slaves, and in 1826 there were fifteen schools for colored children reported within its limits.[1] In 1828 the Synod of Indiana sent a memorial to the General Assembly, emphasizing the immorality of slaveholding. They quoted the language of the General Assembly in 1815 and 1818, and concluded that the toleration of slavery there found was only intended to make more sure the preparation of the slave for freedom. They entreat that measures be now taken for speedy (though gradual) emancipation.[2]

The Associate Synod adopted in 1811 at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, these resolutions: 1. To hold negroes is a moral evil. 2. All slaveholding members must emancipate their slaves unless prohibited by civil law; in which case they should treat them well and pay them wages. 3. Those refusing to follow the preceding rule cannot be admitted or retained in fellowship. 4. Members may buy negroes for the purpose of emancipation, and hold them as slaves until they have paid for themselves, provided the negroes consent. In 1821 it was noticed by the Synod that the resolutions of 1811 had been neglected, and new resolutions were passed. 1. All members of the Synod holding slaves on April 1, 1822, shall be considered as suspended from office. 2. All Elders holding slaves on April 1, 1823, shall be considered unworthy of membership. 3. If any one sells a slave in the meantime he shall not be readmitted to membership without special treatment of his case. This action in Pennsylvania is more radical than in any other state except among the Presbyterians of southern Ohio, whose attitude against slavery has already been treated in an earlier chapter.[3]

In 1826 the Synod of Ohio, in a session at Columbus, held a discussion on the question "Is the holding of slaves manstealing?" and a large majority decided in the affirmative.[4] In 1827 the same

[1] Robert Davidson: "History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of Kentucky," p. 338; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 102.
[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 36.
[3] *Ibid.* 1. 9, 10; see above, pp. 58–61.
[4] *Ibid.* 6. 62; National Philanthropist, Dec. 2, 1826.

Synod considered whether slaveholding was a sufficiently great sin to exclude a man from the communion. No advocate or justifier of slavery appeared in the meeting, and a resolution was passed declaring that slavery could "no longer be tolerated within the jurisdiction of this Synod." The only reason given against such action was the fear of offending some slaveholder, — a reason deemed utterly insufficient.[1]

The Union Presbytery of East Tennessee "opposed slavery not in word only but also in deed." They purchased and set free two colored men with their families, both of whom became "useful and acceptable" preachers to both whites and blacks.[2] The Chillicothe Presbytery, to which belonged nearly all the strong group of anti slavery men in southern Ohio, was of course very decided on this question. In September, 1829, they passed unanimously a resolution "that buying or selling or holding a slave for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, and requires the cognizance of the judicatories of this church." The resolution was included in an address to the churches under the jurisdiction of this presbytery, which was drawn up by Gilliland.[3] While immediate abolition is not mentioned in this address, the anti-slavery tone is clear and ringing. "Had the church kept her hands clear of this bloody crime, it is possible, nay it is almost certain that slavery in these United States would have long ago been abolished." Gilliland feared that destruction was near because men were so loath to hear reproof on the subject, and declared it the duty of the churches to exclude from communion all guilty of this sin. While Gilliland alone signed the address, which was called a "pastoral letter," the first page declared it to be with the authority of the presbytery.

The Baptists, who had no central organization which could lay down rules for the government of the entire body of the church members, were very strong in the South. For these two reasons we find no action taken by the denomination as a whole, though some individuals and churches took anti-slavery ground. Before 1808 a crusade against slavery was initiated by six Baptist ministers of Kentucky:[4] Carter Tarrant, David Barrow, John Sutton,

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 27, 33, 43, 52, 53.

[2] John Rankin: "Letters on American Slavery," pp. 28, 29.

[3] Address to the Churches, in pamphlet form: The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 11. 158, 165, 181.

[4] N. S. Shaler: "Kentucky. A Pioneer Commonwealth," p. 148; Lewis Collins:

Donald Holmes, Jacob Gregg and George Smith. They called themselves "Friends of Humanity," and maintained that there should be no fellowship with slaveholders. Their field of operations was narrow and they did not acquire a great reputation, nor did they greatly affect the anti-slavery contest, although they are mentioned once or twice during the period 1808–1831. Most of the Baptist churches in Illinois admitted slaveholders into membership, and were not earnest against the system. In 1828 seventeen churches withdrew from the connection for this reason, and sent a circular address "to the Friends of Humanity in Illinois, Missouri, and elsewhere." [1]

There is less testimony as to the work of other sects in the United States, with the exception of the Friends. The Episcopalians and Catholics were apparently neutral. The German, or High Dutch, Church at Pleasant Run, Ohio, was one of the few anti-slavery churches of which we have mention,[2] and carried their opposition to the institution "so far that they would hold no slaves themselves, nor have any communion or fellowship with those who did." Nearly all the members were from Virginia, whence the church had as a body emigrated to Ohio in 1801. A congregation of Lutherans, probably in Tennessee, passed in 1822 or 1823 a resolution declaring their abhorrence of slavery.[3]

The Friends were by far the most active opponents of slavery during this period. They furnished the leaders in the "American Convention" and in the greater number of the Abolition Societies in the country, while many individual members were renowned as friends of the slave. The traveler Blane thought the Quakers the only people in the United States who were seriously striving to abolish slavery, or who were exerting "themselves to the utmost to alleviate its horrors." Knight is less positive, yet says: "The Quakers, emphatically, and to their unfading honor, have ever been the foremost against slavery." [4] Among the few memorials

"Historical Sketches of Kentucky," p. 111; David Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 2. 245.

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 107.

[2] This church, founded in 1790, had 70 members in 1809. Nothing is known of its later history. See Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," 2. 261.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 114.

[4] Wm. N. Blane: "An Excursion through the United States and Canada," p. 26; Henry C. Knight (Arthur Singleton, Esq.): "Letters from the South and West," p. 17. For the work of the Quakers before 1808 see M. S. Locke: "Anti-Slavery in America, 1619–1808," §§ 105–107.

to Congress during this period are two from a Quaker Yearly Meeting; one in 1819 expressed their disapprobation of slavery extension,[1] and a second, in December, 1823, prayed for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, especially in regard to the marriage relation.[2] Candler said in 1824 that slaveholding was not tolerated among the Friends of Long Island.[3] A remonstrance in 1826 from the Monthly Meeting of Friends to the Legislature of Delaware solicits attention to the subject of slavery, denounces the system, and blames Delaware for her participation in the crime. It demands an immediate action of the powers of the Legislature for abolition in the state.[4]

The relation of the Friends of North Carolina and Virginia to slavery has been fully treated in a recent monograph, and a few facts may be briefly quoted. Quakers in the former state were not all anti-slavery men; some who married outside the Society, and took slaves as their wives' dower, became the hardest class to deal with. As a denomination, however, they freed their slaves, and since the laws in that state against unconditional emancipation were so rigid, the Society itself became a slaveholder in 1808, receiving slaves from masters who wished to be rid of them, and giving them virtual freedom, sometimes sending them to the free states. In 1809 the Yearly Meeting decided to give up this custom, but it was soon recommenced, and continued till the Civil War. In 1814 they had 350 negroes whom they held in trust in this way. It was not deemed advisable to purchase these slaves at their full value, or to receive them from persons outside of the Society. A report in 1830 gave the number sent to free governments since the beginning of the custom as 652, at an expense of $12,769.81, and the number still under their care as 402. Other than this there was little work done even by the Quakers in North Carolina. Petitions to Congress in 1816 and 1823, which had but little success, and some effort to educate the negroes are about all that is noted. Between 1825 and 1831 they were especially interested in the work of the American Colonization Society, although some members looked upon it as an aid to the slave power. In 1826 nearly $5000 was given to the North Carolina Yearly Meeting to send negroes

[1] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 739.
[2] *Ibid.* 18th Congress, 1st Session, p. 810.
[3] Isaac Candler: "A Summary View of the United States," p. 322.
[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 201, 202.

from the states, and several vessels were fitted out and sent with emigrants.[1]

In Virginia slavery attracted little attention from the Quakers after the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Society in that state never became a slaveholder, and it did no aggressive work.[2]

Notwithstanding these and other facts showing a true anti-slavery sentiment among the churches in this period, it is not to be contested that the great religious bodies did little, as such, to aid in the abolition of slavery. The real work of the Quakers was in the Abolition Societies, which will be considered later, and in individual work, some of which has already been described.

[1] Stephen B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery." Quotations with regard to the Quakers in North Carolina are from pp. 224–232. See also The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 33. The memorial in 1823 is the one referred to in note 2, p. 102.

[2] Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 217.

CHAPTER X

THE CAUSES OF ORGANIZED EFFORT

Although anti-slavery organizations existed before 1808, their number increased during the later years. This was due to several well-defined causes: the spread in the country of the idea of African colonization; the growth of the idea of immediate emancipation; the steady increase in anti-slavery sentiment in the North; and the conviction that slavery was likely to be a permanent institution unless immediately attacked. At the same time changes in individual opinion, and the growth of "delicacy" at the South, had their effect upon the organizations, their spread and their personnel. The character and personnel of the American Colonization Society, its aims, and the extent to which it effected them, and the question whether it was on the whole truly anti-slavery, will be discussed in a later chapter. Consideration here is limited to its external history, as showing the spread of the idea of African colonization, and its effect upon the amount of organized effort in the country in connection with slavery. The founder of the American Colonization Society was Rev. Robert Finley, D.D., a native of New Jersey, graduate of Princeton College, and an ordained pastor of the Presbyterian Church. At the time of its foundation at Washington in 1816, it had fifty members, including Henry Clay, Stephen B. Balch, John Randolph of Roanoke, and Justice Bushrod Washington, who was its first President. The movement was practically inaugurated by the action of several of the Southern Legislatures, that of Virginia passing in 1816 a resolution asking the general government to procure a site for African colonization, and the Legislatures of Maryland, Tennessee and Georgia soon following her example. In 1821 the site of Liberia was purchased, and the community still in existence was soon after founded. The number of Colonization Societies steadily increased, though it was ten years before the idea obtained a distinct foothold in the North.

As we approach the end of the period the growth becomes more rapid, although the number of societies and of life members was always greater at the South than at the North. In 1832 there were societies in every state except Rhode Island in the North, and South Carolina in the South. The tables show the increase in the number of societies, by states, during the years 1816–1832, and of the life members for the first three years in which they were recorded.[1]

While immediate, unconditional emancipation found at all times only a limited following, the idea spread during the period under discussion, while a constantly increasing number favored the immediate passage of gradual emancipation laws. Even as late as the time of the Civil War a large number of those who expressed their sympathy for the slave decried immediate emancipation as no less bad for the blacks than for the whites, though a fair proportion, especially among the slaveholders themselves, felt that immediate emancipation accompanied by colonization might be practicable. Later in the struggle people liked to think that they had always been on the extreme side, and they or their friends and biographers were sure that they had held and voiced that opinion between 1792 and 1831, most of them dating it from about 1814. The contemporary evidence shows very few real immediatists, but many who, while not favoring immediate emancipation, advocated an immediate passage of gradual emancipation acts.[2] John Adams, John Jay and Daniel Raymond in 1819, Edward Bettle in 1826, Samuel Sewall in 1827, all speak of the inexpediency of immediate emancipation, and the danger to the blacks if it were attempted. An anonymous Southern writer, "Hieronymus," in 1825, says he does not believe he could find any Northern man advocating it;

[1] Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography; North American Review, Jan. 1824; "A Few Facts respecting the American Colonization Society" published in 1830; Ralph R. Gurley: "The Life of Jehudi Ashmun," p. 110; "African Colonization. Proceedings of a meeting of the Friends of African Colonization, held in the City of Baltimore on the 17th Oct. 1827," p. 5; Niles' Weekly Register, 11. 275, 296; 15, Supplement, p. 42. The New Jersey Society is said to have been founded by Finley in 1817, but there is no mention of it in any report before 1827. The table is arranged entirely from the reports of the American Colonization Society, as the most comprehensive and presumably the most reliable source of such information. Statements differing from these may be found in various books, both those written in the earlier period, and more recently.

[2] See William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 17, 18, 76, 78, 106, 169, 399; John Adams, "Works," edited by Charles Francis Adams, 10. 379; Daniel Raymond: "The Missouri Question," p. 8; Register of Pennsylvania, 10. 328; The Christian Examiner, 4. 211; "Hieronymus," Essays, pp. 49, 58–60; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 160 (Letter of John Jay to Elias Boudinot), 6. 82, 260.

LOCATION OF COLONIZATION SOCIETIES

	Me.	N. H.	Ver.	Mass.	R. I.	Conn.	N. Y.	N. J.	Penn.	O.	Ind.	Ill.	Total North	Del.	Md.	Va.	S. C.	Ga.	Ala.	Miss.	La.	Tenn.	Ky.	N. C.	Mo.	D. C.	Total South	Grand Total
1819	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	4	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	13	14
1820	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	5	0	3	8	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	18	23
1821	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	6	0	4	11	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	24	30
1822	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	4	9	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	23	30
1823	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	4	9	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	0	23	27
1824	0	0	1	0	0	1	9	0	1	0	0	0	12	2	8	12	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	5	0	0	32	44
1825	0	0	1	0	0	1	9	0	1	0	0	0	12	2	8	17	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	0	38	50
1826	1	1	1	0	0	1	9	0	1	0	0	0	14	2	8	24	0	4	0	0	0	1	1	8	0	0	48	62
1827	1	1	1	1	0	1	9	1	8	7	0	0	30	2	9	27	0	3	0	0	0	1	2	8	1	2	55	85
1828	1	1	1	1	0	2	9	1	9	15	0	0	40	2	10	30	0	2	0	0	0	1	3	10	1	2	61	101
1829	1	1	1	1	0	3	10	1	11	15	0	0	44	2	9	31	0	3	0	0	0	1	5	11	1	5	68	112
1830	1	1	1	1	0	4	13	2	13	20	6	0	62	2	10	34	0	4	5	0	0	12	9	11	1	5	93	155
1831	1	1	1	2	0	4	16	3	21	23	7	0	79	2	10	35	0	4	6	0	0	19	27	11	1	5	120	199
1832	1	1	1	4	0	4	17	5	22	33	7	2	97	2	11	34	0	4	7	5	1	19	31	11	1	5	136	228
Total of dif. Socs.	1	1	1	5	1	5	17	5	23	37	7	2	105	2	12	41	1	8	7	5	1	19	31	13	1	5	146	251

LIFE MEMBERS OF COLONIZATION SOCIETIES

1830	17	4	2	31	0	1	19	2	10	1	0	0	87	0	46	69	14	3	0	1	1	2	6	1	0	10	147	234
1831	20	4	2	33	7	7	26	2	11	1	0	1	114	0	50	73	15	4	1	1	1	2	1	2	0	15	165	289
1832	20	5	3	35	8	8	29	5	16	4	0	1	133	0	52	79	16	8	1	1	6	2	3	2	0	17	187	320

the members of the Abolition Society in Williams College in 1826 express their doubt of its advisability; while a writer in the Richmond Enquirer in 1827 said that immediate emancipation without expatriation was the idea only of those "who have not the guide of either knowledge or experience on the subject." Yet Hieronymus would be inclined to follow the plan could he feel the danger from it overestimated; he declares that abolition, either immediate or gradual, is the only remedy for the slave trade; "that it is our duty, and our interest, to liberate them [the slaves] as soon as it can be done with safety"; and expresses his hope that if the slaveholders cannot prove the necessity and value of slavery, "they will yield to their honest convictions and unite for the gradual, and *if* at all practicable, the immediate abolition of slavery."

The Pennsylvania Abolition Society sent a memorial to their State Legislature in 1820, asking for a law for immediate and total emancipation in that state, believing that it was feasible, since the gradual emancipation act had been so long in force.[1] In the American Convention in 1826 it was proposed to ask Congress to abolish slavery immediately in the District of Columbia.[2] In 1828 the New York Legislature passed an act practically setting free all slaves still held in that state. In 1825 a writer in the Washington (Pa.) Examiner, while expressing doubts as to the safety of unconditional emancipation, adds, apropos of the domestic slave trade, "We would almost as soon risk even that as a continuance of such infamous and inhuman practices." [3] A pamphlet published in the same year by a New England man declared, by logical and numerical arguments, the practicability of emancipation.[4] A letter from Sadsbury, Pennsylvania, to the editor of the "Genius" in October, 1829, declared the writer's belief in immediate emancipation, and his desire that the slaves be freed, even though it were to be dangerous to the whites.[5] Another writer from western Virginia declared (1830) that immediate emancipation was justice, and that it was not right to consider expediency.[6] Other writers whose arguments

[1] Edward Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," p. 70.
[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 74.
[3] *Ibid.* 5. 19.
[4] "An Attempt to Demonstrate the Practicability of Emancipating the Slaves of the United States of North America, and of removing them from the Country, without impairing the Right of Private Property, or subjecting the Nation to a tax. By a New-England Man." Published in New York in 1825.
[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 41.
[6] *Ibid.* 11. 85–86.

against slavery and for immediate emancipation were published during this period are quoted in the previous chapters.

The unpopularity of immediate emancipation, though advocated by a limited following, is clearly seen in the unwillingness of any society to accept it in its completeness, except one society in Sunsbury, Monroe County, Ohio, which in 1826 set that definite aim before itself by its constitutional rule that "No person shall be admitted to membership unless he is in unison with the following propositions. 1. I am opposed to every species of slavery. 2. I am willing to do all I can, consistently, towards the immediate abolition of slavery. 3. And when any of this class shall become free, I wish them to partake of the common privileges of other free citizens."[1]

Midway between colonization and immediate emancipation was the old-fashioned anti-slavery sentiment, which gained ground at the North, however apathetic it seemed to the wrongs of the slave. The address of the American Convention to the Societies in 1821 congratulated its readers upon "the great change in public opinion in favor of abolition of slavery that has already been effected in the Northern, Middle, and some of the Western States."[2] The New York society, in its address to the American Convention the same year, stated that "perseverance in the course of philanthropy and justice has achieved, in this state, nearly all that laws can effect." The writers continued: "But a little while ago we were surrounded with enemies on every side; and the number of advocates for Negro emancipation was, in comparison with the whole number of citizens, a mere handful. . . . It is believed, we may now with confidence assert, that a great majority of the citizens of New York and of the state are adverse to slavery."[3] The address of the Williams College Society for Abolition said in 1826: "It appears to be the conviction of people generally in this part of the country that the time has arrived when it is necessary to *feel* as well as speculate, and to *act* as well as feel, if we would" accomplish anything in behalf of the negroes.[4] A similar address

[1] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1826, p. 48; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 122. It is true that other societies claimed to advocate this, but we have no copy of their constitution extant, nor any distinct report, other than the later utterances of those more or less intimately concerned.

[2] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1821, p. 56.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 67; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 178.

[4] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1826, p. 21.

in 1828 from the National Anti-slavery Tract Society was sure that a wonderful change had taken place in the public mind, and that it had mostly been effected within a quarter of a century.[1]

Another reason for advance both in numbers and in expression of sentiment was the evidence that slavery was not a temporary and disappearing thing at the South, as at the North, but that it had firmly taken root in the political and social institutions of the country. The Methodist Episcopal Church felt in 1824 that it was impossible to eradicate or control slavery, and that even "its eradication from the church" was "beyond the control of ecclesiastical law," and proposed rules to govern the treatment of the slaves by the church members.[2] Isaac Holmes, traveling about 1821, said that there was little prospect of emancipation.[3] Others held out the cheerful prospect that slavery would continue until there should be a second San Domingo, to drench the slave states with blood and give rise to a barbarous black republic. The bugbear often served the abolitionists, who tried to arouse the Southerner to his danger, so that he might emancipate the slaves before it was too late.

During the decade from 1820 to 1830 there was indubitably a growth of anti-slavery sentiment at the North, and a slow change of individual opinion on the question of slavery. Intercourse between the North and the South was more easy in 1830 than in 1808, and news from one part of the country more readily found its way to other sections. The growth of freedom in the Northern states must have led many both in the North and the South to see the advantages of abolition; the border states saw a diminishing proportion of slave population; and there were indications that these and other states were approaching the position where they might consider the feasibility of emancipation. More than all the rest, the Missouri struggle had opened the eyes of many to the evils of slavery extension, or to the necessity for protection to that institution, according to the geographical position of the thinker. The contest in Illinois had aroused a number to whom the slavery struggle might otherwise have been only a word. It therefore seems natural that the period after 1831 should witness more

[1] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1828, p. 46.

[2] N. Bangs: "A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," 3. 274.

[3] Isaac Holmes: "An Account of the United States," p. 329.

zealous advocates and more bitter speeches than the earlier period. The expression of sentiment is slower than its growth. Some people would not speak on the subject until their opinion had become less unusual, and the minority in which they stood had grown larger. Many later anti-slavery champions may with justice claim that their anti-slavery sentiment dated from their early life though their first words on the subject came much later in their life, and far along in the history of anti-slavery.

In later discussions it became a fixed dogma of the pro-slavery writers that up to 1831 there was in the South an ever increasing opposition to slavery, a denunciation of it as a system, and a strong tendency towards its abolition, and that the "delicacy" of the South in regard to the "peculiar institution" was aroused by the clashing between the uncompromising abuse by Garrison and his followers and the indomitable pride of the slaveholders. For this conviction there was some ground; in 1813 Benedict, a New England man traveling at the South, at first determined not to talk about slavery, but he found that the Southern slaveholders were willing to discuss it.[1] Rankin's "Letters on Slavery" sold in great numbers without opposition in Kentucky in 1824 to 1828.[2] In 1828 a three-day anti-slavery convention was held in Winchester, Virginia. The meetings were public, widely advertised, and were held in the town hall, yet they met with no opposition.[3]

Yet the evidence of open-mindedness cannot stand against the many instances of absolute refusal to permit argument against slavery. In the Colonial Congress, in the Confederation, in the Constitutional Convention, in the State ratifying Conventions, in the early Congresses, there were many vehement denunciations of anything which seemed to have an anti-slavery tendency, and wholesale suspicion of the North at all times when the subject was opened. Between 1808 and 1819 there is little indication of a real sectional jealousy on the subject, but after the struggle over Missouri it is rarely absent from Southern discussions of slavery. The Missouri Compromise was in part a political contest, in which the issue was not slavery *per se*, but sectional power, yet plenty of

[1] David Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 2. 208.

[2] A. T. Rankin: "Truth Vindicated and Slander Repelled," p. 7.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 9. 35. For a fuller discussion of the period before 1808, with reference to Southern delicacy, see M. S. Locke: "Anti-Slavery in America, 1619–1808."

references can be found to the "irritability of the South," and the "danger" of discussion both during and after this period. A few examples will illustrate this point. In January, 1820, William Smith of South Carolina denounced in Congress the anti-slavery pamphlets by "Colbert," "Marcus," and Daniel Raymond.[1] Judge Story, afterwards Chief Justice, in May, 1820, called the subject a "delicate topic." [2] Charles J. Fox, in the New York Commercial Advertiser, before or during the earlier part of 1821, included "sectional animosity" among the "evils which slavery is shedding upon our country like a poisonous blight." [3]

An interesting incident was related in 1823 by W. Faux, an anti-slavery Englishman who happened to be in Charleston, South Carolina, and wrote to the Charleston Courier to show up the case of a slave murdered by excessive whipping, and to arouse the community from its indifference. Faux was severely criticized then and on a second visit, and he declared that "the Carolinians love slavery and hate all who hate it." Perhaps it is more astonishing that the letter was printed at all than that it was criticized, for it came two years after the Denmark Vesey plot, when the state was fearfully excited.[4]

A constitutional nervousness is shown in several incidents of the years 1825–1826, for example Governor Troup's attitude in 1825 in regard to the Creek episode.[5] Attorney-General Wirt's opinion on the unconstitutionality of the South Carolina Colored Seamen's Act (1826) was received with abuse and neglect. In the debates on the Panama Congress in 1826 slavery was treated as a fragile thing, which could not bear discussion at Panama.

When William Maxwell, a Norfolk lawyer of high standing, denounced slavery in an article in the Norfolk Herald, a meeting was called to examine the state of the police, and other correspondents in the paper accused Maxwell of wishing to arouse another San Domingo.[6] The United States Gazette referred in 1826 to "A sensible and spirited writer in the Kentucky Reporter" who had "come out against slavery in plain and manly terms." "We did

[1] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 267.
[2] Charge to the Grand Jury of the U. S. Circuit Court at Portland, Me., on May 8, 1820, p. 14.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 13.
[4] W. Faux: "Memorable Days in America," pp. 69, 73–76, 405.
[5] Niles' Weekly Register, 28. 274, etc.
[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 369, 372, 377, 385, 393.

not suppose," the editor continues, "that any man dare write, or printer publish such plain truths in that state." [1] In November, 1825, the Southern writer "Hieronymus" said that probably no discussion of slavery could be carried on in the papers of the South, for the editors would lose their patrons; he related how a clergyman in Carolina about twenty years before had been obliged to leave his people and remove to a free state because he conscientiously preached against slavery.[2] The Manumission Society of North Carolina, in their address to the American Convention in 1826, spoke of the fact that in that state "the gentlest attempt to agitate the subject or the slightest hint at the work of emancipation" was "sufficient to call forth their [the slaveholders'] indignant resentment, as if their dearest rights were invaded." [3]

Added to remonstrance there were some cases of positive measures against anti-slavery men and organizations. When some people met at Smithfield, Virginia, in 1827, to form an abolition society, the meeting was broken up by magistrates, on the ground that as there was no law authorizing such a meeting it must be contrary to law.[4] The author of "Americans as they are," published in 1828, refers to the extreme irritability of the South on the question, and the actual danger of death if a lawyer defended a slave.[5] In 1825 a South Carolina subscriber to the "Genius" asked to have the paper discontinued; a young man, in weak health, and dependent on his profession for support, he dared not receive a paper which aroused so much opposition.[6]

That this unwillingness was not always accompanied by a real sense of the righteousness of slavery, but was often rather an indication of sectional jealousy, is also shown by some of the discussion on the part of the South. Representative Drayton of South Carolina, in a debate in Congress in 1828, spoke strongly against the institution, yet he continued: "Much as we love our country, we would rather see our cities in flames, our plains drenched in blood

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 69.

[2] "Hieronymus," Essays, p. 62. Perhaps the clergyman referred to was Gilliland; see above, p. 60.

[3] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1826, p. 37.

[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 13. The quotation is from the Winchester Republican, whose editor considered that the magistrates had taken the best means to increase the supporters of the society.

[5] "Americans As They Are," p. 178.

[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 61. This was four years before Garrison became one of its editors.

— rather endure all the calamities of civil war, than parley for an instant upon the right of any power than our own to interfere with the regulation of our slaves." [1] This is still more clearly shown in the distinct utterance of suspicions of the North. Samuel E. Sewall in the Christian Examiner in 1827 speaks of the jealousy of the North entertained by the South, and the unfounded belief that there were many who favored the idea of immediate emancipation.[2] The editorials of the New England Weekly Review, which have already been quoted, allude to the "abuse heaped by Southern Demagogues upon New England."

A still more fierce unwillingness to discuss slavery, and indication of sectional jealousy are found in the resolution of the Legislature of South Carolina in 1828, protesting against any claim by Congress of power to interfere with either free blacks or slaves in South Carolina, and declaring that South Carolina would not submit. Any discussion of the matter would light "fires of intestine commotion" and would "ultimately consume our country." [3] A still closer parallel to the later argument that the Southerners adhered to slavery because the North abused them is found in a speech of Thomas H. Benton, in Congress, in 1829. "It is not to be forgotten," he said, "that the terrible Missouri agitation took its rise from the 'substance of two speeches' delivered on this floor," and thenceforth no anti-slavery speech coming from the North must be disregarded. Then addressing the North, he said: "To them I can truly say that slavery in the abstract has but few advocates or defenders in the slaveholding States, and that slavery as it is, an hereditary institution, . . . would have fewer advocates among us than it has, if those who have nothing to do with the subject would only let us alone. The sentiment in favor of slavery was much weaker before those intermeddlers began their operations than it is at present." [4]

It is a noteworthy fact, especially in view of the history of the beginning of the Civil War, that the larger part of this opposition

[1] Register of Debates, 4. 975. See above, p. 22.

[2] The Christian Examiner, 4. 7.

[3] David F. Houston: "A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina," p. 51.

[4] Benton: "A Thirty Years' View," 1. 136. This was before Garrison's first words in the "Genius"; before he first advocated immediate emancipation; and of course before he had sufficient prominence and influence even among the abolitionists to antagonize the South. The opposition to which Benton refers, and which he so condemns, was due to the earlier abolitionists entirely.

to anti-slavery, and nearly all the violent expression of it, was found in the state of South Carolina, many of the other states of the South contributing nothing, or at least nothing that has gone on record. The most virulent attack on anti-slavery before Garrison's rise was written under the title of "The Crisis," by Robert James Turnbull of South Carolina, over the *nom de guerre* of "Brutus." "Who could have believed, in 1789," says Brutus, "that in less than forty years several *State* Legislatures should even entreat that Congress would take under its consideration measures to remove as an evil of the first magnitude the FUNDAMENTAL POLITY of the Southern States — that even the subject of *slavery* should be a fit object for the INDIRECT legislation of a Government instituted for the purpose of attending to foreign relations. . . . Domestic servitude is the policy of our country, and has been so from time immemorial. It is so intimately interwoven with our prosperity . . . that to talk of its abolition is to speak of striking us out of our civil and political existence." He complains that the Legislatures of Ohio, New Jersey and other states "pour forth their phials of wrath" upon slavery. He foresees that the question must be discussed in Congress, but "the instant Congress PRESUMES to express its opinion," South Carolina "will *Act*."[1] This violent and threatening paper has the very same ring, and uses nearly the same language, as the later expressions from South Carolina, which were supposed to be excited solely by the anti-slavery labors of the Garrisonians; but it was published two years before Garrison went to Baltimore, one year before he took the editorship of the "Journal of the Times" in Bennington, Vermont, and only one year after his first recorded words against slavery, which were probably not read by any Southern man.

Not one of these many critics of the North refer to William Lloyd Garrison, or even to Northern abolition societies or abolitionists, and probably not one of them had ever heard of Garrison. The dates of his coming into abolition service show conclusively the existence of bitterness, irritation, and a determination to suppress criticism, before he could have had any influence. The work of Garrison before 1831 has been mentioned in an earlier chapter,[2] but it may be well in this connection to give a brief résumé of the

[1] R. J. Turnbull (Brutus): "The Crisis," pp. 95, 124, 129, 130, 131. Italics and capitals as in the original.

[2] See above, p. 67–70.

important dates. Garrison's first recorded word on the subject of slavery was an editorial comment on a poem on Africa published in 1826; and the next a brief reference to the topic in an article written in June of the same year. An editorial denunciation of slavery in 1828 is followed during the same year by the work in Vermont, and the editing of the "Journal of the Times," from which we may justly date the beginning of his anti-slavery career. He is not yet, however, in a position to influence the South, or at all events to antagonize it, for he advocates only gradual emancipation and writes only for a local Northern paper, though he is becoming known to the anti-slavery workers of the country and is proposing the formation of anti-slavery societies at the North and a petition against slavery in the District of Columbia. His belief in and advocacy of immediate emancipation dates from 1829, and his expression of it from his partnership with Lundy in that year. Garrison manifestly thought that his advocacy of immediate emancipation in the "Genius" was the cause of its small circulation and the opposition to it which was seen in some quarters, and some of his biographers have laid great stress upon this point, even stating that his attitude "broke up the paper." His, however, was not the first advocacy of immediate emancipation in the paper; the trouble in finding subscribers existed long before the partnership; the opposition was equally strong in 1825, four years before;[1] and the publication of the "Genius" continued for more than six years after the connection of Garrison with the paper ceased, and for five years after the publication of the "Liberator." While Lundy says that some of the articles in the paper during his absences were not such as he would have liked, it is very possible that his opposition would have been to the personalities rather than to the proposal of immediate emancipation. It was no doubt Garrison's later work which aroused the hatred of the South against him, and led to the expression of a sentiment which had existed for many years.

[1] See above, p. 112.

CHAPTER XI

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES

It is at this date impossible to determine with any exactness the number or location of anti-slavery societies during the period from 1808 to 1831. This is not remarkable, since at the time widely varying statements were current. An enumeration of the societies appears only three times in the reports of the American Convention or in the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," and each time the statement is purposely left indefinite. Lundy says in 1825 "over one hundred," in 1827 "about one hundred and thirty," and the report of the American Convention gives the number for 1828 as "over one hundred and forty." Where Lundy lists, by states,[1] one hundred and six societies, he adds that there were also ten or twelve in Illinois, and some forty or fifty unreported, which would make a total of at least one hundred and fifty-six. A great many names of societies are found in these two authorities, but rarely the date of organization.[2] The accompanying tables give, as accurately as the material permits,[3] the number, location and date of organization of the various societies, by states, and the names of all the individual societies which have been found will be printed in Appendix B. As may be readily seen, these are not all that were in existence at the dates mentioned.[4] A study of these tables arouses some doubt of such statements as

[1] Lundy's lists by states are certainly not exhaustive. For example, no mention at any date is made of Connecticut; yet in 1827, the year one of these lists was published, there was mentioned in the "Genius" a colored society in New Haven, and there also existed a small society in the same city, in which Leonard Bacon was the prime mover.

[2] The date of the first sending of delegates to the American Convention is usually the earliest date given. But in every case there is some record of work done by the society previous to that date, and sometimes indications of an existence of several years.

[3] For these tables no secondary authority has been taken, with two exceptions: for the period before 1808 the facts were taken from Mary S. Locke: "Anti-Slavery in America, 1619–1808"; and for those in North Carolina the authority of Stephen B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," has been accepted. The authorities consulted have been the reports of the American Convention, the Genius of Universal Emancipation, the Annals of Congress in case of memorials signed by societies as such, the American State Papers in one such case, and Niles' Weekly Register, in regard to current events. In Appendix C will be found the names of all societies found in any authority.

[4] Only eight names are given for North Carolina, while all authorities agree that there were between forty and fifty societies there, and the cases of Connecticut and Illinois have been already cited.

States [2]	Before 1808	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830
Connecticut	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1			
Delaware	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1			
Dist. of Columbia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2			
Illinois	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1						
Kentucky	..	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1								
Maryland	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	5	5	3	1	
Massachusetts	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2				
New Jersey	1	1	1	1	1	2[3]	1	1	1	1														
New York	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
North Carolina	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	4	5	1	1	1	1
Ohio	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	4				
Pennsylvania	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	4	5	3	3	2	3	6	4	1	1	
Rhode Island	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1				
Tennessee	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	3	2	1	1	1		
Virginia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	4	1		
Totals (A)	3	4	5	5	5	7	5	6	6	7	8	13	10	11	18	13	12	12	18	28	24	8	4	1
Totals (B)	..	4	5	5	5	7	7	8	8	9	9	14	14	15	22	24	25	27	35	49	65	65	65	65

[1] Only those distinctly mentioned in authorities, note 3 (page 116), are considered in this table. No society is regarded as existing save in the years its name is distinctly found.

[2] Only those states are named which contained abolition societies mentioned in these authorities.

[3] This number is certainly too small.

(A) These totals assume the existence of the societies merely in the years they were named in the authorities, and are obtained by adding the columns above.

(B) These totals assume the existence of all societies continuously after their first mention, till mention is made of disbanding; but not at all before such first mention. Nothwithstanding the obvious defects of this method the total may not be far out of the way, since, while some societies may be counted after their dissolution, it is certain that many were not mentioned till some time after their organization; in fact, societies referred to in the Minutes of the American Convention but not recorded as organized on a given date, are there credited with work they had already accomplished.

II. TOTAL SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES[1]

States	1824	1825	1826	1827
Connecticut	--		--	1
Delaware	1	--		
District of Columbia	--	--	--	2
Illinois	--	12	7 or 8	12
Kentucky	5 or 6	6	6	8
Maryland	--	4	5 or 6	11
Massachusetts	--	--	1	2
New York	--	1	1	1
North Carolina	11 or 12	41	45+	50
Ohio	--	6	1 or 2	4
Pennsylvania	--	4	8	16
Rhode Island	--	1	1	1
Tennessee	21	23	20+	25
Virginia	1 or 2	2	2	8 or 9
Total (A)	39–42	100	97–100	141–142
Total (B)	--	100+	--	130+

that in 1827 there were one hundred and thirty abolition societies in the United States, and only twenty-four of them in the free states.[2] The "Genius" distinctly records in this year one hundred and thirty-nine or one hundred and forty societies, of which thirty-six were in the free states, and several Northern societies are not included. Taking the more definitely described societies, a still larger proportion are in the North.[3]

The attempt to reconcile the varying estimates of the number of societies must lead to the suspicion that the anti-slavery people talked loosely, and exaggerated their numbers. By the widest liberality can be located, with any approach to certainty, only one society out of a possible twelve in Illinois; only six, out of a possible twenty-five in Tennessee; and only eight out of a possible fifty in North Carolina, or a total of sixty-four out of a possible one hundred and forty in the country. From other authorities

[1] Only the totals are given here which are distinctly given as such in the authorities, they are not the sums of any previous tables.

(A) These totals are the deductions from this table, obtained by the addition of the columns.

(B) These are two totals distinctly given by Lundy in the "Genius." They are the only cases where a total for the United States is given.

[2] Jacob P. Dunn: "Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery," p. 190.

[3] Out of twenty-three societies whose names are recorded in one year, ten were in the free states, in addition to the possible twelve in Illinois. (See Table I.) And out of sixty-four named societies twenty-six were in the free states, with the same addition as before. (See Table II.)

we learn of other names, very likely as correct as those tabled, but we cannot check the official estimates by the writers of the time. For example, William Jay in 1835 enumerated[1] fifteen societies which sent delegates to the American Convention of 1827. The report of that Convention mentions ten societies, of which four are not in Jay. The societies he mentioned existed at some time, but they did not send delegates in 1827, and in most cases there is no proof of their existence in that year.

The most definite references by writers of the period are to abolition societies in Delaware and Kentucky. A society in Wilmington, Delaware, is mentioned by John Palmer in 1817 as caring for a fugitive slave until legal proofs of possession were brought by his owner.[2] In Kentucky a society called "Friends of Humanity" was formed in 1807, eleven clergymen and thirteen laymen signing the constitution; they were commonly known as the "Emancipators," and remained in existence at least till 1813, when the account of the society was written.[3] An abolition society near Frankfort, Kentucky, communicated with the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1809 and 1823, which of course argues its existence between those two dates.[4] An account is given of an attempt to form an abolition society in Kentucky in 1830. This last was to have no formal organization until it numbered fifty members; the first call was signed by fourteen, and in a few weeks thirty-four more joined them, including men of national reputation, but for lack of a strong leader the whole plan came to nothing.[5]

A society at St. Clairsville, Ohio, founded by Lundy in 1815, is mentioned;[6] one in Ripley, Ohio, begun early in the century;[7] also one in West Union, formed by Dyer Burgess, in 1819. Another in Zanesville, Ohio, founded in 1826, had for its expressed object "the total extinction of slavery in the United States at the earliest possible period." This society remained in existence dur-

[1] William Jay: "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," p. 113.

[2] John Palmer: "Journal of Travels in the United States of America," p. 19.

[3] David Benedict: "General History of the Baptist Denomination," edition of 1813, 2. 245–247. See above, pp. 100, 101.

[4] Edward Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," pp. 58, 79, 80.

[5] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 99–101. See above, pp. 20, 35. An abolition society had existed in Kentucky for several years, but it is very possible that it may have lapsed before 1830, as the latest mention of it was in 1822.

[6] Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 390; Earl: "Life of Lundy," p. 16. Mr. Birney, page 164, speaks of the society at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, as founded by Lundy in 1815. This must be a mistake, as Lundy was not then living in Mt. Pleasant, but in St. Clairsville, where he certainly founded a society in that year.

[7] Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 165.

ing the later period, and in 1833 reformed its constitution to favor immediate emancipation still more strongly.[1]

These societies differed much in size, although few writers state their numbers. That in New Haven, Connecticut, in which Leonard Bacon was prominent, consisted for a considerable time of only its five charter members. The Kentucky Abolition Society is said to have had but six or seven members when its new constitution was adopted in 1815, but in 1822 it had grown to two hundred and fifty regular members, banded into five or six branches.[2] The Maryland Anti-slavery Society, which was started as a state society in 1825, had four branches with several hundred members only thirteen months after its organization;[3] in its report to the American Convention in 1826 it states its membership as two hundred and fifty in five branches;[4] and in 1827 it had grown to eleven branches and five hundred members.[5] The National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, which had its headquarters in Baltimore, Maryland, reported in 1828 a membership of fifty, all from slaveholding states.

The New York Abolition Society deplored in 1821 the small number of anti-slavery advocates in proportion to the inhabitants;[6] for many years after its foundation it counted not more than one hundred active members and never "in its greatest prosperity" did it exceed four hundred in the midst of a population of one hundred thousand. The society in New Lisbon, Ohio, is said to have numbered five hundred in three months after its organization, and to have advocated immediate, unconditional emancipation.[7] The Columbia (Penn.) Society had sixty-four, nine months after its formation; and that in West Middletown (Penn.) consisted of "a very respectable number of citizens."[8] The society in Loudon, Virginia, had, in 1824, soon after its foundation, about twenty members;[9] and in the Virginia Convention of 1827, twenty mem-

[1] Mr. Birney seems to think that the Aiding Abolition Society of Ohio, the first mention of which in either the reports of the American Convention or the Genius of Universal Emancipation was in 1826, was founded before that time. He also says (p. 76) that the Manumission Society was founded in 1814, a fact, which, though clearly indicated in the "Genius," is not expressly so stated.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 150.

[3] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 83.

[4] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, p. 31.

[5] *Ibid.* for 1827, p. 51; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 43.

[6] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 6.

[7] Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 165; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 182.

[8] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 364. [9] *Ibid.* 4. 7.

bers answered to their names.[1] These last were probably delegates from branch societies, and represented a much larger constituency, but how much larger we cannot tell.

The largest numbers, so far as we can ascertain now, come from the slave states of Tennessee and North Carolina. In 1823 the Manumission Society of Tennessee reported [2] twenty branches, most of them apparently flourishing, the whole number of members "supposed to exceed 600." But in the number of members North Carolina decidedly leads. In 1816, at the first general meeting, there were one hundred and forty-seven members present; [3] in the annual meeting in 1819, two hundred and eighty-one members reported present.[4] For the meeting of 1825 Weeks allows but eighty-one delegates, while Lundy reports one hundred and forty delegates, and many spectators.[5] In this year fifteen branches report four hundred and ninety-seven members; the entire membership, reckoned on this basis, would be about one thousand one hundred and fifty.[6] In 1826, twenty-three branches reported about one thousand; [7] in July of that year the society is said to have about two thousand members, and the number to be increasing rapidly.[8] A meeting of an anti-slavery society near Yadkin River, in North Carolina, in 1826, is said to have had an attendance of three hundred, and to have received sixty-three new members, with no opposition, "and not a Quaker among them." [9] About this time the society in Maryland, in an address to the people, speaks of the situation in North Carolina, and says: "It is believed that nearly 3,000 citizens of that state have enrolled themselves as members of anti-slavery societies within a period of two years." [10]

The names of but a few of the members have come down to us in the reports of these societies; but we know a large proportion of the officers, and nearly all the delegates to the American Convention, presumably the most prominent workers. We find the names of nearly four hundred different men reported as officers and delegates to the American Convention during the period.[11] Few of

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 102.
[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1823, p. 18.
[3] Stephen B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 235. [4] *Ibid.* p. 238.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 240; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 57.
[6] Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 240. [7] *Ibid.* p. 241.
[8] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 364. [9] *Ibid.* 5. 414.
[10] Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 83.
[11] The names of these men will be found in Appendix A.

these names are familiar, almost no man prominent in politics appears among them, and but few of the later abolitionists. Among the most familiar men are Carter Tarrant and David Barrow of Kentucky, Daniel Raymond and Benjamin Lundy of Maryland, Thomas Emmett and Cadwallader D. Colden of New York, the Swaims and Coffins of North Carolina, Caspar Wistar, the Atlees, William Rawle, Roberts Vaux, Benjamin Rush and Edward Needles of Pennsylvania,[1] and Rowland Hazard of Rhode Island.

The organization of the anti-slavery societies was, as a rule, very simple. A President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer were the regular officers, and often an "Acting Committee," apparently much like modern "Executive Committees." In the larger societies, as those of New York and Pennsylvania, and also in some of the smaller ones, there were several committees. In Pennsylvania there was an "Acting Committee," a "Board of Education" for the oversight of the schools under the charge of the society, an "Electing Committee," and a number of "Counsellors," who were of great assistance in all cases involving law or an appeal to the courts. In New York there was a still larger variety; the ordinary officers including two Vice-Presidents and an Assistant Secretary, "Counsellors," a "Register," a "Standing Committee," "Trustees of the School," "Committee of Ways and Means," and "Committee of Correspondence."

The societies differed greatly in the amount and the kind of work done. Some few seem to have really advocated immediate emancipation, others hardly dared to stand for emancipation of any sort, without colonization as a necessary sequence. The work in general consisted of meetings, published addresses or general information on the subject of slavery, memorials and petitions to the officials of state or nation, the defence of negroes in the courts when claimed as fugitives, the bringing to justice of cruel masters and opposition to both the foreign and domestic slave trade. Where it was not against the law of the state they also labored for the education and elevation of the negro race.

Nearly all the societies of which we have record were represented at least one year in the general "American Convention of Abolition Societies," and the anti-slavery addresses they prepared and sent to this body are preserved in the reports of its meetings. Many

[1] Needles later reported from Maryland.

also of the messages of the local or state meetings to the societies there represented can be found, as well as reference at least to other addresses on the subject. The society at Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, arranged for public anti-slavery addresses, both on the Fourth of July and on other occasions.[1] The society in New Lisbon, Ohio, published an address on the evils of slavery and the necessity of gradual emancipation.[2] The method of public appeals was more frequent in the slave states; the society in Washington, District of Columbia, addressed the citizens of their District in 1828 on the question of abolition there,[3] and that in Alexandria, then in the District, published a series of addresses in the Alexandria Gazette and the Genius of Universal Emancipation, which were quite widely copied, and in which they denounced slavery as a social and political evil.[4] Others were issued by societies in Maryland,[5] in addition to the work of the National Anti-slavery Tract Society, which had its headquarters in Baltimore. The society in Loudon, Virginia, published an address to the public with strong denunciations of slavery and appeals for emancipation.[6] An "Address to Christians" was put forth in 1816 in Tennessee,[7] and annual addresses from the "Tennessee Convention" to its branches,[8] etc.

The most widely known address issued by a society as such, was published[9] by the Manumission Society of North Carolina in 1830, under the title "Address to the People of North Carolina on the evils of slavery." They state five propositions: first, "Our slave system is radically evil"; second, "it is founded in injustice and cruelty"; third, "it is a fruitful source of pride, idleness and tyranny"; fourth, it increases depravity and inflames the passions, is disgraceful and destructive; fifth, it is contrary to the Christian religion. They urge that the truth of the first proposition was generally admitted, and would have been still more generally assented to if the "pernicious effects" were less. The fundamental injustice was in the kidnapping of the negro in Africa, and the

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, p. 19.
[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 123.
[3] *Ibid.* 8. 21.
[4] *Ibid.* 6. 221, etc.; Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, p. 54.
[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 273.
[6] *Ibid.* 5. 85, 86.
[7] Niles' Weekly Register, 14. 321.
[8] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 73, 142; 5. 42, 50.
[9] This address received the approval of the Board of Managers, and was signed for them by Amos Weaver and William Swaim. A reprint of the pamphlet, in facsimile, published in 1860, has been found, the earlier edition being apparently not extant. The quotations are from pp. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 30, 41–43, 45, 58, 59–63, 65–68.

dooming of his innocent children to slavery. The fact of the sanction of civil law was no justification, for the laws of nature and of God were higher than those of man; and slavery is impossible by civil law, because it is contrary to the Bills of Rights in the constitutions of many states and of the United States. In the constitution of Delaware *all men* are declared to possess by nature the right to liberty, to property and to worship; in the constitution of North Carolina *all men* are declared to possess a natural and unalienable right to worship God. Attention is called to the clause in the latter constitution where it states that "no hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honors ought to be granted or conferred in this state," and it is claimed that transmitting slaves by inheritance violates this principle. Common law is said to rest on "reason and the divine law," and these are violated in the slave laws. The cruelty of slavery is shown by the slave trade, foreign and domestic, by the lack of protection to slave marriage and to the property of slaves, and by cruelty and even murder, when no white person is present, or the slave is a runaway. It is further shown by the absence of provisions for education or for moral improvement.

Appeal is made to the people to reflect and call for redress "until virtue triumphs over vice, and humanity over cruelty." In discussing the fifth proposition, that slavery is contrary to the Christian religion, they considered it almost superfluous to ask whether slavery is contrary to Christianity. The claim that slavery is contrary to the Mosaic policy is also quite fully discussed. At the end of the document the principles of the Manumission Society are definitely restated. 1. Liberty is the inalienable birthright of every human being, white or black. 2. The negro is entitled to the same measure of justice as the white. 3. The evil affects every part of the community, and emancipation and colonization are necessary; emancipation must be gradual and prudent, but universal. Their plan for effecting this was the passage of, first, a law prohibiting further introduction of slaves into the state; second, a law to allow manumissions by slaveholders; third, a law allowing negroes to make contracts for purchasing their freedom; fourth, laws to impose further restraint upon the abuse of slaves and allowing easy means of redress; fifth, a law providing for the elementary education of the negroes; and sixth, a law to free the *post nati* at a certain age, and to prohibit the removal of slaves

from the state in such a way as to cause the loss of the benefit of this last law.

Memorials and petitions to the legislative bodies of state and nation were prepared in large numbers by the various abolition societies. No publications of any sort, and no record of memorials and petitions to Congress purporting to be from New England societies, can now be found. The societies must then have been few and unaggressive. Memorials and petitions in favor of abolition in the District of Columbia were sent by the Tennessee Manumission Society in 1822,[1] and later in 1825;[2] by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1824;[3] by the Maryland Abolition Society in 1825;[4] by the New York Abolition Society in 1827;[5] and by the societies of the District itself in 1827 and 1828.[6] Other petitions to Congress sent by the abolition societies, as such, were in regard to the slave trade, by the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1813,[7] 1818,[8] and 1822;[9] and by the Franklin (Penn.) Manumission Society in 1827.[10] The last named also asked for the freedom of the *post nati*. A petition for protection to the blacks was sent by the Delaware society in 1816.[11] The Tennessee Manumission Society sent in 1823 memorials to Congress asking for the relief of the blacks, and for proscription of slavery in new states.[12]

The petitions to the state legislatures sent by the various societies for the amelioration of the condition of the blacks in each state will be more fully considered in connection with the detailed work of the societies themselves, as recorded in the reports of the American Convention. They embraced every sort of legislation for the benefit of the blacks, from a law for the punishment of the kidnapper of a free negro to a law for the immediate abolition of

[1] Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, 709; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 142.
[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 409.
[3] Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st Session, 1756.
[4] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 20.
[5] *Ibid.* 8. 68; see Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, p. 54.
[6] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, p. 60; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 21, 22, 28, 38; Basil Hall: "Travels in North America," 3. 42–48.
[7] Edward Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," p. 59.
[8] *Ibid.* pp. 66, 67.
[9] Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, 747.
[10] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 145.
[11] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1817, p. 18.
[12] Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 2nd Session, 642; 18th Congress, 1st Session, 931; S. B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 236.

slavery. These petitions and memorials were, necessarily, prepared only in states where slavery was still legal; hence none were drawn in New England, nor in the West. The societies in New York and Pennsylvania, and in the Southern slave states, used this method in trying to arouse the interest of their fellow-citizens to the needs of the blacks.

The negro schools of New York and Pennsylvania have already been considered.[1] Few societies could do anything in this direction, since in some states the education of even the free negro was prohibited, while in many the attempt to educate a slave was severely punished. In the North the black had, nominally, as much right in the public schools as the white, and he practically enjoyed it in the earlier days, in many places. No real opposition to the education of the blacks was made in these states until the later period. There were separate schools also in many places, supported by various methods,— some by bequests for the purpose, as a school in Boston, others by the benevolence of the blacks themselves, as in New Haven, and others by the benevolence of the whites.

[1] See above, pp. 73, 74.

CHAPTER XII

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES: DETAILS OF WORK IN THE SOUTH

Accounts of the work of each of the anti-slavery societies are often to be found in the columns of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," and throw, in general, considerable light on the conditions in the various states in regard to the slavery question.

Only one society in Delaware is reported at any length, the Abolition Society of Delaware, which was often represented in the meetings of the American Convention. It commonly gave evidence of Quaker influence, and was in existence during the earlier period of the anti-slavery contest. The reports sent to the American Convention speak in the strongest words against slavery, which is referred to as the "scourge of our country," the "moral pestilence," the "highest and most cruel despotism that the world has ever known." The "avarice and cupidity" which they felt were suffered to prevail over dictates of conscience, and the reasons of state and doctrines of expediency, which they saw in competition with the divine law of the Golden Rule, are especially denounced. The reports of the work done by this society include the releasing of many illegally held in bondage, the maintenance of schools for the manual, intellectual and religious education of the colored children, the presentation of petitions to the Legislature for a gradual emancipation act, and to Congress for protection to the blacks. These petitions failed of their object, but they were presented again and again, at every favorable opportunity. In 1826 the society advised its members to refuse to use the products of slave labor. At all times it complained of the lack of money for the various branches of its work, and before 1827 its operations had become much circumscribed on this account.[1]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for 1809, pp. 19, 20; for 1817, pp. 17, 18; for 1821, pp. 17, 18; for 1823, p. 15; for 1826, pp. 17, 18; for 1827, pp. 44, 45; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 81.

The reports of two societies in the District of Columbia are found at considerable length: the Washington Anti-slavery Society, and the Benevolent Society of Alexandria. In the first letter of the former to the American Convention, in October, 1827, the reason given for its foundation is the deep regret felt by the members at the thought that "slavery with all its horrors was countenanced in the capital of the country," and their object in uniting was that they might use all lawful means in their power to "wipe away that stain" for which they were so reproached by the European nations. They felt that if the principles of freedom could obtain a hold on the capital, the whole nation would be benefited, and therefore asked that all societies, and friends of humanity generally, should memorialize Congress at its next session, asking for gradual abolition in the District. From the "Genius" we learn that in 1828 the society addressed the citizens of the District advocating abolition, and to that effect circulated a petition, which in a few days had received more than five hundred names in Washington City and County alone. All the judges of the Court of the District signed it.[1]

The Benevolent Society of Alexandria announce in 1827 as its leading objects: 1. to liberate those illegally held in bondage; 2. to improve the condition of the free people of color; 3. to diffuse among the citizens more just views on the subject of slavery. The society was small, having but nineteen members in 1827 and twenty-two in 1828. It reported the rescue of negroes from the hands of slave traders, and the maintenance of Sunday Schools for colored children. In 1827 it considered that it was inexpedient to circulate a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; but in 1828 it reported that it had united with the Washington Society in such a petition, which was signed by two hundred "very respectable" citizens in Alexandria, and about eight hundred in Washington and Georgetown. The petition was presented to Congress during the session of 1827–1828, but received no discussion. In 1827 warm approbation was given to the idea of colonization.[2]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, p. 56; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 21, 22, 28, 38. This address is mentioned in Basil Hall: "Travels in North America," 3. 42–48. Nothing is however said in the address of 1829 on this point; see the Minutes of the American Convention, for 1829, p. 62.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1827, pp. 53–55; for 1828, pp. 59–60. Alexandria, now in Virginia, was at that time still included in the District of Columbia.

Another branch of the work of this society was the publication of essays in the Alexandria Gazette, and in the "Genius," some of which were copied into other papers, both North and South. In one series of essays, printed in the "Genius" for 1827, slavery is denounced as an evil of the greatest magnitude, and the intention of the societies to destroy the evil is emphasized, although they disclaim all intention of interfering with the constitutional rights of slaveholders. The comparative cost of free and slave labor, and the comparative prosperity of free and slave states are discussed, with the causes producing the results. Reference is made to the political tendency of slavery in the United States, and to the dangers of insurrection. The admission of Florida as a slave state is regarded as increasing the danger, because of the great room for slaves, and its nearness to Cuba. If Cuba were to become free under the control of the blacks, these writers felt sure that nothing but a large standing army would keep the mainland slaves in subjection, and that the North could not be expected to aid, if the South had not done its best to prevent the trouble. The last essay of the series describes the demoralizing effects of slavery, especially upon the children of the slaveholders.[1]

An anti-slavery society existed in Kentucky during the early part of the century, although before 1830 it had, apparently, been dissolved. Its aim was set forth in its first constitution, — "To have regard to free negroes and mulattoes — to inculcate upon them the great duties of morality, industry and economy, and also the education of their children, by every and the best means they may be able to devise. To meliorate the condition of slaves by pursuing every method which may be in their power, under the constitutional laws of this state. To seek for justice in favor of such negroes and mulattoes who are held in bondage contrary to the existing laws of this commonwealth." In October, 1811, in a letter to the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, the society in Kentucky refers to itself as an "infant" and speaks of that in Pennsylvania as the mother to whom they could look for instruction and assistance. A memorial from the Kentucky society, presented to the House of Representatives in 1816, was relative to the colonizing of the free people of color on the public lands. The committee to whom the memorial was referred reported ad-

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 221, 228, 235, 243, 252.

versely, on the ground that since such lands were not granted to free whites they saw no reason for granting them to others. In 1821 the society resolved to publish a semi-monthly paper in the interests of abolition, under the name of the "Abolition Intelligencer." In the proposals for this paper extracts from the constitution are printed, and the announcement is made that no advertisements will be received save such as relate to slavery. In 1823 the paper was discontinued for lack of support.[1]

While detailed reports are found of only one society in Virginia, there were without doubt a number of others, for on more than one occasion reference is made to the "Virginia Convention," which was apparently a union of abolition societies meeting in convention, and sending in that form their report to the "American Convention." The address from the one held in Winchester, Virginia, during three days of August, 1828, has a distinct note of discouragement. "When we reflect that many of the most enlightened men of America, have employed their time and talents for the laudable and magnanimous purpose of devising means by which African slavery might be ultimately abolished, we fear that our exertions (comparatively speaking) will be abortive and unavailing. However, we feel it our duty to contribute all that we possibly can to that great and noble cause, which ought to arrest the attention of every true philanthropist; and which so materially affects the vital interest and prosperity of our country. Never was there a subject which has more manifest claims on our compassion, benevolence and humanity, than African degradation." That slavery is incompatible with the designs of an overruling Providence they feel must be acknowledged by all who have any claims to virtue, morality and religion. Many in Virginia would aid the cause were it not for the ridicule of others, whom the society characterizes as "prejudiced and interested persons, whose avarice obscures the sunshine of reason and benevolence; and whose nicest sensibilities are checked by a mere shadow — the fear of losing their popularity." Notwithstanding the impediments, however, the abolitionists of Virginia intended to persevere to the end, feeling that

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 96; 2. 167. Minutes of the American Convention, for 1812, pp. 16, 17 (Carter Tarrant was then its President); American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. 2, No. 395, p. 278. The proposals for the paper were in the Indiana Gazette, Corydon, Indiana, for Thursday, Nov. 29, 1821.

so long as slavery was tolerated in the Union, there would be a stain on the flag which was regarded as an emblem of freedom.[1]

The single Virginia society from which we have reports was in Loudon, where in 1823 the first steps were taken to form a society for the abolition of slavery. In 1824 it had twenty members, and a committee was appointed to draft a constitution, which should support gradual emancipation and emigration. In 1825 the society published an "Address to the Public" in which slavery was denounced, and emancipation and colonization strongly advocated. Aid is requested from the people, an appeal being made to their sense of justice, and to their love for their country and desire for its welfare.[2]

A call for a meeting to organize an anti-slavery society in Tennessee was sent out in March, 1797, but no account is found of any action previous to the foundation by Charles Osborn and others of the Manumission Society of Tennessee, at the house of Elihu Swain, in December, 1814. The more prominent names connected with its organization were Charles Osborn, Elihu Swain, John Underhill, Jesse Willis, John Canaday, John Swain, David Maulsby, John Rankin, Jesse Lockhart and John Morgan. It is claimed that a number of the members were at all times in favor of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and that the society was first founded with that idea, though the constitution suggested no method. Almost immediately, however, either because of weakness, and on considerations of expediency, or because of the real opinion of the majority of the members, the idea was abandoned, and gradual emancipation was distinctly advocated.[3]

The society held annual conventions, issued annual addresses to the people, and several times was represented in the American Convention, usually by Benjamin Lundy. In four successive years the convention sent memorials to Congress. The first, in

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, pp. 54, 55.

[2] Lundy considered it the first association of its kind in Virginia. The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 2, 188; 5. 85, 86.

[3] Julian: "The Genesis of Modern Abolition," in the International Review for June, 1882; Stephen B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," pp. 235, 237, note; William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," pp. 76, 390; Historical Collections of Ohio, 1. 337; Niles' Register, 14. 321. The original purpose of this society is said to have been immediate, unconditional emancipation, but no documentary evidence appears to be extant. Osborn, Underhill, Willis, Lockhart, and Rankin are said to have been the ones favoring immediate emancipation. They all moved later to the free states, Osborn to Ohio in 1816, the rest later, — Underhill and Willis to Indiana, and Lockhart and Rankin to Ohio.

January, 1822, prayed for provisions for gradual emancipation in the District of Columbia, and that Congress would do all in its power to effect the final abolition of slavery in the United States. The memorial of 1823 prayed for the relief of the colored people, especially in the line of the prohibition of the interstate slave trade, and of the separation of families. A third memorial, in 1824, prayed for the prevention of the extension of slavery into states as yet free, and its proscription in any state formed or admitted in the future. The fourth, in 1825, was on the subject of the amelioration of the condition of the colored people, and the gradual abolition of slavery; it held that a law freeing the *post nati* would be within the powers of Congress; it advocated abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia; it called attention to the internal slave trade, the ignorance of the slaves and the lack of true marriage among them; and it specifically petitioned for the prohibition of slavery in all new states.[1]

The general objects of the Tennessee society were set forth in the addresses of 1822 and 1823 as "a gradual reform of our laws, so as to soften the bonds of slavery to those who now groan under the yoke, and to avert the evil from generations yet unborn," and "the gradual abolition of slavery in our country." The work of the Tennessee conventions was much like that of the American Convention; addresses were prepared by the President for circulation among the churches or for general distribution; plans were discussed, reports given of the year's work, and, as we have seen in several cases, memorials and petitions prepared. The address sent to the American Convention in September, 1823, was very encouraging. The society at the time consisted of twenty branches, and the membership was supposed to exceed six hundred. The address to the Branches in 1824 speaks of some "lukewarmness" on the part of some of the members, but the attitude of the main society was earnest and uncompromising. "We have hoisted our ensign on which it is written that *Slavery is wrong*." It was in this year that the first proposals were made for the publication of a paper, which was finally agreed upon in

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 142; 5. 409; Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, 709; 17th Congress, 2nd Session, 642; 18th Congress, 1st Session, 931. No results appear from these memorials, save the reading in the House, and a reference to a Committee; S. B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 236, note.

the convention of 1825, under the name of "The Manumission Journal."[1]

The only other address of the Tennessee society to the American Convention is in 1828. It begins in these suggestive words: "*To the American Abolition Convention for promoting the rights of oppressed man.* Friends and Fellow-Advocates in the cause of suffering humanity." The address is signed by James Jones, who had been President for many years, and is in all probability the expression of his personal opinions, for that reason being perhaps of especial interest. He says: "I am very anxious that the friends of freedom may be firm and encouraged to persevere with Christian fortitude in promoting the great cause of justice." He considers it strange that people "do not more seriously consider the interest of themselves and posterity." "I wish," he continues, "that the several Religious and Benevolent Societies could be prevailed upon throughout this Union, to consider the propriety of petitioning the several legislative Authorities on the all-important subject of negro emancipation, but more particularly to load the tables of Congress with such Memorials, not only referring that august body to the (little spot ten miles square) District of Columbia over which Congress holds entire control. If Congress have power to regulate commerce between the several states, &c. let all friends of man solicit the Congress to pass laws to prohibit . . . the Internal Slave Trade." After a denunciation of the traffic he goes on: "It's time for the people to be roused to their duty, and ask their rulers to abolish such things in plain, explicit terms."[2]

"The Moral, Religious Manumission Society of West Tennessee" was formed in December, 1824, to procure abolition by argument, and to raise money to spread the truth. Three articles of their constitution were as follows: "Art. 6. As we believe that enslaving our brethren is the greatest act of practical infidelity and is *absolutely* incompatible with the spirit of Christianity; and as we think that the Gospel of Christ if believed would remove personal slavery at once by destroying the *will* in the tyrant to enslave,

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1823, pp. 17, 18; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 151; 2. 21; 4. 156, 157; 5. 42 (italics as in the original); William Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 76. See also the "Genius," 2. 23, 38, 40, 90, 109, etc.; 4. 73; 5. 59.

[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, p. 57.

and as we believe that the glory is due to Christ alone, and that it cannot be given up to another, we do agree to hold it up to others to the best of our skill, so as to convince them of the truth. Art. 7. As we believe that slavery will exist while men of talents are willing to tyrannize, and as we are convinced that nothing but the moral or religious principle can make men unwilling to tyrannize, we therefore deem it unnecessary to make use of any other means but argument. Art. 8. None that own or hold slaves can be admitted as members of this society." The membership seems to have been largest among the Scotch Highlanders of that part of the state, if we can judge by the Scotch names of the directors. In March, 1825, the society sent an address to the various manumission societies of Tennessee, asking them to appoint July 4, 1825, as jubilee, to celebrate it, and to send out missionaries to preach to slaveholders.[1]

A good number of anti-slavery organizations existed in Maryland, most of which were considered as branches of the Maryland Abolition Society. This was formed in August, 1825, with Daniel Raymond as President, and Edward Needles as Secretary.[2] There were, however, some earlier anti-slavery societies in the state. One, which was in existence from the summer of 1789 till 1796, had for its purpose the abolition of slavery and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage. Its membership was large, and among the cultured class.[3] Another society in existence before 1825 was a "Maryland Protection Society," which was perhaps merged in 1827 with the Baltimore Protection Society.[4] The only record of the work of the earlier society is in 1818, when it is said that it had "lately had the glory to release a number of kidnapped black people and to restore them to freedom and their families."[5] The society in Newmarket, Maryland, held a quarterly meeting in

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 76, 142; Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 77. The only other notice of this society is in the Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, p. 48, when the directors decided that an address sent to that body from the society showed sentiments not in accord with the convention, and it would not be best to print it. What these sentiments were is not hinted.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 11, 13, 16, 20.

[3] The society was started in 1796 by Joseph Townsend, who with its first President, Philip Rogers, and its first Vice-President, James Carey, was alive in 1825. The authority from which we learn of the society ("Life of Elisha Tyson. By A Citizen of Baltimore") claimed that there was "hardly an old and venerable citizen now [1825] in existence in Baltimore whose name was not enrolled among the number."

[4] See the Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, p. 53.

[5] Niles' Weekly Register, 14. 192.

1828, and undoubtedly was in existence earlier. At one time it had declined in interest, but had rallied, and was prosperous in that year.[1]

The Maryland Abolition Society, which held its first meeting in 1825, for several years made up an anti-slavery state ticket, presenting the name of Daniel Raymond as candidate from Baltimore to the General Assembly. While Raymond was never elected, he received a fair number of votes, and his candidacy gave an opening for anti-slavery addresses and pamphlets. He was pledged to endeavor to procure a gradual emancipation law for the state, and the society recorded it as its opinion that the only practical means of abolition in Maryland was the passing of a law to free the *post nati*. Committees were appointed in 1825 and 1827 (1) to draft a memorial to the Legislature of Maryland on the internal slave trade and slavery generally; (2) to draft a memorial to Congress on abolition in the District of Columbia; and (3) to prepare an address to the religious societies of Maryland on the abolition of slavery. This society in its address to the American Convention in 1826 speaks as strongly as any of its Northern contemporaries of the cruelty of slavery, its debasing effect on the morals of the nation, and its direct denial of the principles of republican government.[2]

The avowed object of the society was the extinction of slavery, primarily in Maryland, but finally throughout the nation. The methods of work were: the investigation of the state of slavery, the publication and presentation of addresses, the circulation of anti-slavery publications, and the support of candidates for the Legislature who would enact laws to abolish slavery. In 1827 the society sent to the American Convention a brief historical sketch of slavery in Maryland, and an apparently unimpassioned account of the condition of the slaves at the time, with great stress laid on the prevalence of kidnapping. It also claimed that the most intelligent of the people in the state were beginning to be convinced that slavery was a curse to the state. The writers felt sure that the time was not far distant when the state would be willing to adopt a system of gradual emancipation.[3] In October, 1828, the society lost ground because many workers were absorbed in the presi-

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 191; 5. 6 (monthly); 5, 68, 181 (weekly).

[2] *Ibid.* 5. 20, 35; 7. 13; Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, pp. 27, 28.

[3] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 48–51.

dential election, but the officers were still confident that the cause would in the end triumph, even over the pride and avarice which they saw impeding its progress.

Two other societies in Maryland deserve mention: the Gunpowder Branch, which voted to have an anti-slavery library, and prepared an address to the citizens of Maryland on the evils of slavery;[1] and the Baltimore Protection Society, which, hardly a year after its organization, reported a membership small in numbers but of great zeal, and considerable success already in their work of redeeming those in illegal slavery.[2] In connection with these organizations it is interesting to note that one formed in 1826 is said to have been formed principally of persons not Quakers. The idea was somewhat prevalent then as now, that only the Quakers opposed slavery; this thought perhaps arose from the fact that they were the most numerous and active, and this statement and others were intended to combat this idea.[3]

Baltimore was also the home of the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, which in 1828, according to their own account, had fifty members, all residents of slaveholding states, the officers nearly all from Maryland. Their work of publishing and distributing anti-slavery literature was performed earnestly and perseveringly. They employed agents in various parts of the United States to make the public acquainted with their proceedings, and also to urge abolition in the District of Columbia. In their address to the American Convention in 1828, they use the same strong expressions as do the others in their characterization of slavery: "the barbarous system of African slavery." After giving a few facts in regard to the internal slave trade from Baltimore, they add: "These facts, though they furnish but a partial view of the true state of things, speak in tones of thunder, shewing the necessity of putting an end to this diabolical business. Can it be possible that American Republicans, that *professing Christians*, will much longer sit with folded arms, and look upon such a horrible state of things without emotion?" In 1829 they reported that their work was retarded by the apathy of those around them, but they were not disposed to retire from the conflict.[4]

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 273.
[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, p. 53.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 36.
[4] The Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, pp. 44–52; for 1829, p. 61.

All the societies that have been mentioned were in the border states or those Southern states immediately bordering on them, and it is most probable that there were few or none in the true South, with the exception of North Carolina. This point should be borne in mind when the comparison between North and South, in regard to the number of societies, is made. In the states nearest the free states, where the results of the gradual emancipation acts of New York and Pennsylvania could be studied to the best advantage, the societies were numerous, and in many cases large and vigorous. In the states farther South, where those results were less apparent, the societies were entirely wanting. The one exception to this general rule was the state of North Carolina, where Lundy labored on his way to Baltimore for the organization of societies, and where thereafter there were a goodly number of earnest workers. The most active men of the period in that state were the Mendenhalls, Coffins and Swaims; and the societies were the most numerous in Guilford County.

The Manumission Society of North Carolina, the central society, held its first public meeting in July, 1816; it had been preceded by four local societies, which perhaps had a good share in its organization. The majority of names found in connection with the central society are those prominent among the Quakers, but other traces of them are few; Osborn was doubtless instrumental in forming branches. In 1817, when colonization came under discussion, by that or some other influence a division was caused, and in spite of frequent meetings the society was, in 1823, on the verge of dissolution. It was at this time, or early in 1824, that the influence of Lundy became felt in North Carolina. He held fifteen to twenty abolition meetings, organized from twelve to fourteen abolition societies, and gave to the Manumission Society a new impulse, abolition being in control and colonization in the background. In October, 1824, the society presented to Congress a memorial on the evils of slavery and the benefits of emigration.[1]

Through the address of the society to the American Convention in 1826 we learn the attitude of the leaders, and the strength of the membership; over forty branches were in existence, besides several

[1] The Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, p. 37; S. B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," pp. 234–240; Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 78; Earl: "Life of Lundy," pp. 22, 23; The Genius of Universal Emancipation 4. 7 (the first mention of the society in the paper), 78; 6. 91.

associations of women, extending into seven or eight of the most populous counties of the state; the membership was more than two thousand, and the number still increasing. Their fundamental principles were that emancipation must be gradual, accompanied with foreign colonization, and should be universal. The active work of the society was to show slavery in all its glaring colors, its enormity, impolicy, danger and inconsistency with democratic institutions and religion, until the people were aroused, and could be heard in the Legislature. At present the petitions to the General Assembly were laid on the table. A system of five laws was advocated: (1) prohibiting the importation and exportation of slaves; (2) permitting manumissions; (3) legalizing slave contracts for the purchase of freedom; (4) providing for the education of the slaves; (5) providing that after a certain time all persons should be born free. The address in 1828 is in much the same tone, but no more encouraging, although the abolition sentiments had gained ground in unexpected quarters of the state, and the writers were confident that there was a latent sympathy in many hearts, only waiting to be roused into action. For this purpose they had been issuing publications for general distribution, with the certain result that the subject was becoming more and more matter for familiar conversation, and less irritation was evident. In 1829, however, they speak of it as an "awfully delicate subject," and state their object much more mildly, possibly on that account. The society existed at least until 1834, but declined from 1827, and finally lost its organization entirely save as a part of the Underground Railroad.[1]

Only a few other societies in North Carolina are reported with any fullness. That of Guilford County was said in 1818 to have been "lately" established;[2] others are merely named[3] in the "Genius" for 1824 and 1825. In 1825 the "Trotter's Creek Branch" sent an address to the people of the United States.[4] In 1826 it was said that the formation of new societies was continu-

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, pp. 32–39; for 1828, p. 66. See also the Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 364; S. B. Weeks: "Southern Quakers and Slavery," p. 241. The only North Carolina "publication for general distribution" which has been found is the "Address to North Carolina by the Managers of the Manumission Society of North Carolina on the Subject of Slavery," mentioned in the preceding chapter.

[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1818, p. 21.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 11, 26, 51, 79.

[4] *Ibid.* 4. 158.

ally heard of, but later in this year opposition was shown to their organization in some parts of the state.[1]

The Southern societies as a whole were not radical in their aims, nor increasingly active towards the latter part of the period, many even losing their existence after the struggle of 1820. Yet the years 1826 and 1827 saw the formation of many new societies. Individuals remained true to their allegiance, and took their share in the later struggle. One characteristic of the Southern anti-slavery society was the fact that a large proportion of them included slaveholders among their members, and for that reason they could not stand as strongly against the institution as those societies where a slaveholder was excluded because he was a slaveholder. These organizations therefore became either colonization societies, or merely protection societies, not advocating manumission, but amelioration; not abolition, but the keeping within legal bounds.

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 414; 6. 13.

CHAPTER XIII

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES: DETAILS OF WORK IN THE NORTH

For the history of anti-slavery there is an especial importance in the beginnings of aggressive anti-slavery work in those states which, later, were the great factors in the struggle for the freedom of the slave. The number of such societies was much smaller than in the South, and the reports of their action are vaguer; and so far as can now be ascertained not many of the Northern states had a share in the work. In New England the only societies which can be traced were two in Massachusetts, and one each in Rhode Island and Connecticut. The other New England states were nearly free from slaves during the entire period, 1808–1831, and it is not strange, in those days of slow travel, that the needs of the blacks in the remote South did not especially appeal to them. It seems that Massachusetts also should be included among these, since at no time after the formation of the Union was she a slave-holding state. But the two Massachusetts societies were in Andover Seminary and Williams College, and very possibly owed their existence to those students who came from the South. It was certainly a student from Kentucky who directed the attention of the Andover Society of Inquiry into Missions to the work among the Africans in America, and thus gave an opening for the work of Leonard Bacon, which bore fruit in Connecticut at a later date.

The Andover Society was hardly a regular anti-slavery society since it included both slavery and missions in its labors, and confined itself to the dissemination of intelligence on the subject, a work which it considered the best means of effecting either the liberation of the slaves or the amelioration of their condition.[1]

The Society at Williams College was formed for the purpose of

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, pp. 23–26; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 83.

learning about slavery and the efforts for its abolition, and has every right to the name of an anti-slavery society, although it was not in a position to do much aggressive work. Most of the students in the college belonged to it, and they arranged not only for the investigation of slavery, but for anti-slavery addresses on the Fourth of July and on other occasions. The words against slavery in the single communication from this society are much stronger than those from Andover, although no belief in the wisdom of immediate emancipation is expressed.[1]

The only society in Connecticut of which we have even the briefest account is that in New Haven founded by Leonard Bacon in 1825. It exerted its efforts for religious worship and instruction, secular schools, a library and saving society, and for personal work in elevating the masses. Nothing seems to have been done for the emancipation of slaves, if we except a certain amount of patronage of the American Colonization Society, which many supposed to have that end in view.[2]

A society in Rhode Island appointed delegates in 1821 to the American Convention. Of these only Thomas Hazard was present. The address sent with the delegate was of no importance as showing the attitude of the society, and nothing more is known of it.[3]

The three central Atlantic states, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had each a state society, although that in New Jersey was disbanded in 1817. This society was organized early in the previous period, and secured the liberation of some negroes who had been illegally enslaved.[4] In 1812 the branch society in Trenton lamented the falling off of interest in the state, which caused a failure to hold any meeting, so that no delegates could be appointed to the American Convention of that year. The hope that the society might be reanimated was fulfilled for a brief time, but five years later it disbanded and no other New Jersey society is afterward mentioned. The Trenton society seems to have been the most active of its branches, but the only detail recorded of its work is a petition sent shortly before the report in 1812 to the

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, p. 19.

[2] Address of Leonard W. Bacon before the Boston (Mass.) Ministers' Meeting, in 1900 (not printed); also "Liberia," for Nov. 1899, and Feb. 1900. The last two are reprinted in a separate pamphlet entitled "The Services of Leonard Bacon to African Colonization."

[3] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 38, 39.

[4] *Ibid.* for 1809, p. 13.

Legislature of the state, in favor of increasing the penalty for selling blacks out of the state.[1]

The state body in New York, the New York Abolition Society, was founded in 1785, and remained among the most prominent in the American Convention throughout the entire history of that body. From the published addresses of this society quotations might be multiplied which would show an equal strength of anti-slavery sentiment, and equal vigor of expression and in many cases much the same wording as those already quoted from the Southern societies.[2] To the exertions of this society was due, in large measure, the New York law which completely abolished slavery in 1827;[3] other laws to improve the condition of the negroes, and to give a stronger penalty for kidnapping, were also passed under its influence.[4] It supported two schools,[5] one of which certainly is spoken of by many travelers as of superior quality.[6] It also liberated many negroes unjustly held as slaves;[7] between 1808 and 1812 those freed numbered one hundred and sixty-five, and at the latter date the society had forty-five cases on hand for investigation. By 1821 the members felt that they had accomplished practically all that was necessary in their own state, but retained their organization for the express purpose of doing all they could to coöperate with the societies in all the other states.[8] After the final freedom act was passed they arranged for house to house visitation of colored families in New York, and a Dorcas society of colored women to sew for the needy, and they were planning a house of refuge for the children of dissolute colored parents.[9] They also sent petitions to Congress and to the New York Legislature in favor of abolition in the District of Columbia.[10]

The fullest reports from any state society come from the Penn-

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1812, p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1809, pp. 6, 11; for 1812, p. 6; for 1821, p. 6; for 1823, pp. 5, 6; for 1825, pp. 6, 8.

[3] *Ibid.* for 1817, p. 6; for 1827, p. 32.

[4] *Ibid.* for 1809, p. 9; for 1812, p. 8; for 1817, p. 6; for 1818, pp. 7–15; and for 1821, p. 6.

[5] *Ibid.* for 1809, p. 10; for 1812, p. 7; for 1817, p. 7; for 1818, pp. 7–15; for 1821, p. 6; for 1823, p. 6; for 1825, p. 8; for 1827, p. 34; for 1828, pp. 36–40; for 1829, p. 49.

[6] See above, pp. 73, 74 and note.

[7] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1812, p. 9; for 1818, pp. 7–15; for 1823, p. 6; for 1825, p. 9; for 1826, p. 13.

[8] *Ibid.* for 1821, p. 6; for 1827, p. 32.

[9] *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 39.

[10] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 8. 68.

sylvania Abolition Society, one of the first founded, always aggressive and in the foremost ranks of the workers. In 1809 it reported it less easy to work in favor of the slaves, owing to the fact that its success in its own state had been so great that hundreds of slaves from the neighboring slave states went to Pennsylvania to secure their freedom. Many of these were honest and industrious, but too many served only to swell the list of paupers and criminals. By the majority of the people the resulting evils were laid to their society, who as a consequence determined to devote themselves entirely to the education of the blacks within its borders. Little money was spent for literature, but the society supported several large schools in Philadelphia under the charge of various religious denominations.[1] In 1812 it was decided to erect a building for a colored school, which was completed in 1813 at a cost of over $3000.[2] Their main work in 1820 was an attempt to secure some of the public school money to be applied to the education of the negroes.[3] The labor for the education of the colored children was a source of gratification to the workers, for even as early as 1821 the report of their society says that notwithstanding their degraded origin, and low rank in society, there was a smaller proportion of the colored people than of the white chargeable as paupers to the community.[4]

After 1813 the society was comparatively less aggressive for a few years, owing to the death of many of the older members, and the belief of others that their work was virtually accomplished in the passage of the gradual emancipation law and the arrangements for the education of the colored children.[5] Still at all times they were quick to see and defeat any pro-slavery measure, as, for example, an attempt in the State Legislature, in February, 1813, to form a separate Black Code for the state.[6] Before 1820, however, activity seems to have been renewed, for in that year a memorial was presented to the State Legislature, asking for immediate and total abolition in Pennsylvania. This now seemed feasible, as

1 Minutes of the American Convention, for 1809, pp. 14–17.

2 Edward Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," p. 58.

3 *Ibid.* p. 69; Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 12. Their address to the American Convention says that this effort had failed, although they had good hope for the future. Needles says that the effort was successful. If successful at all, it must have been later.

4 Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 13.

5 *Ibid.* for 1817, p. 9; Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Society," p. 64.

6 Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," pp. 60, 61.

through the working of the gradual emancipation act the number of slaves had decreased.[1] In 1821 complaint was made [2] that a claim of some masters to a limited service from children of indented servants was upheld by some of the courts; the complainants expected, however, that the Supreme Court would reverse the decision, or, if not, that the Legislature would apply a prompt and efficient remedy. The address to the American Convention in 1827 gives a good account of the schools under the care of the society, and of a "shelter" in Philadelphia, for colored orphans, which was "unknown except to its philanthropic female supporters, and a few of their friends." [3]

In 1811 the society sent a memorial to the State Legislature asking for a law effectually to prevent kidnapping.[4] Again in 1818 another complaint was made of the insufficiency of these laws, with the result in 1820 of procuring more stringent regulations.[5] A memorial was presented to Congress in February, 1813, against the slave trade,[6] and in December, 1818, another on the same subject received eight hundred signatures.[7] The failure to accomplish the desired object did not discourage the society, for in 1822 yet another memorial was sent to the same body, complaining of the continuance of the traffic.[8] The utterances of the Pennsylvania Society in 1825 are especially strong against the domestic slave trade, which they declare should be put under the same ban as the foreign trade. "Can it be supposed," they ask, "that the same nation who punished her citizens with death for" the African slave trade, "would yet still permit a trade in the descendants of Africa born on her own soil? . . . When we pronounced the slave trade to be piracy, did we not forever extinguish our title to a slave? for is he not the product of that traffic?" [9] In 1827 the words are still stronger; the domestic slave trade is characterized as "a cruelty scarcely equalled by the enormities of the African slave trade and for which our land cries aloud to heaven for judgment." "It is," the writers con-

[1] Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," p. 70.

[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 11. Indented females were children of registered slaves, freed by the gradual emancipation act at the close of their indenture. For some court decisions on this point see chapter XX.

[3] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 35–39.

[4] Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society," p. 59.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 68. [6] *Ibid.* p. 59. [7] *Ibid.* pp. 66, 67.

[8] Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, 747.

[9] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1825, p. 11.

tinue, "the very parent of kidnapping. That such a barbarous violation of Christianity, and even the common decencies of life, should have been practiced in this age, will be looked at by our posterity, with as much surprise, as we now feel that your ancestors could have tolerated the *African* trade." [1]

Negroes claimed as fugitive slaves were at all times able to secure the most earnest aid of the Pennsylvania society, either from the organization or from individual members. In 1817 fifty-three cases of fugitives came under their care; thirty of these were rescued from slavery, and others were unsettled at the time of their report.[2] In this year they sent a memorial to Congress in regard to the fugitive slave law.[3] Their labors in behalf of these negroes resulted in 1821 in the passage of a law by the Pennsylvania Legislature which was the germ of the personal liberty laws of the later period.[4] It gave a more formal trial to negroes claimed as fugitives, and prohibited justices of the peace and aldermen from officiating in such cases. Yet in 1827 they still complain of the insufficient trial required to prove a negro a slave.[5]

The work of the society for those parts of the country less favored than their own in regard to the freedom of the negro was no less active than for the negro within their borders. In 1821 the especial attention of the American Convention is called [6] to the question of abolition in the District of Columbia, the writers being convinced that Congress would be ready to consider it favorably, as, since that body had exclusive jurisdiction in that District, the continuance of slavery there was a reproach to the whole republic. The society felt that the time was ripe for successful agitation of the subject; the American people had the power, and surely they could not want the will "to wipe off the stain upon their reputation, of suffering slavery to remain in the capital of a country justly boasting of its liberty." In 1823 attention is again called to this subject,[7] and in 1824 a memorial was sent by the Pennsylvania society, praying for the total abolition of slavery in the District.[8]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, p. 38.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1817, p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 11; Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Society," p. 65; Annals of Congress, 14th Congress, 2nd Session, 96.
[4] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 11, 12.
[5] *Ibid.* for 1827, p. 37. [6] *Ibid.* for 1821, p. 15. [7] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 13.
[8] Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 1st Session, 1756. It was read and referred, and a week later laid on the table (*Ibid.* 1792).

The address [1] of the society to the American Convention in 1821 is of interest, because it comes immediately after the close of the great Missouri struggle. The writers felt it a matter for congratulation that although success had not attended all their efforts, yet "much benefit had resulted from their exertions." Limits had been set to the extension of the evil in our western territory, and if the same spirit which dictated the late resistance to slavery should continue to be exerted, "the shores of the Pacific and a large extent of territory on the Missouri and Mississippi" would be "saved from this scourge of humanity." It is well to compare with this optimistic view of that contest that of the New York Abolition Society, expressed in its address [2] of the same year, where it bemoans the "failure in Congress of the attempt to fix limits to the further extension of slavery in our Southern and Western borders." By 1825 the feeling of the Pennsylvania society with regard to affairs in the West seems somewhat changed; [3] for they express their feeling that events in that section of the country show a "most deplorable ignorance respecting the baneful effects of slavery"; and claim that "perhaps at no period were the effects of Philanthropists more necessary to enlighten the public mind than the present," though in regard to the struggle in Illinois in particular, they "are well assured that it will be opposed by the United efforts of the Wise and Good." In 1825 the tone is more encouraging, as the society speaks very hopefully of the prospect of two more states "erasing the stain of slavery from their escutcheon."

The first mention of slavery in Florida is made in 1827, when the hope is expressed [4] that so fine a country might be saved from the curse of an enslaved population, or, at least, such measures adopted as would prevent its increase and promote its abolition. The question of colonization was brought up in 1818, when the Pennsylvania society requested [5] the American Convention of that year to investigate the plan, to see if it "would subserve the interests of humanity" or would have the effect of perpetuating slavery in the United States.

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 8.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 11.
[4] *Ibid.* for 1827, p. 37.
[5] *Ibid.* for 1818, pp. 18, 47, 69; Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Society," p. 66.

Several other societies were in existence in Pennsylvania during this period. One in Centerville was probably organized in 1818, that being the date when it is first mentioned.[1] Nothing is known of its work, however, except a preamble and resolutions adopted in 1826: "*Whereas* slavery is an evil of great magnitude threatening to involve our country in the horrors of insurrection, and this fact is acknowledged by all, *Resolved*, that it is the duty of all to unite to help to abolish it; that we would approve of Congress laying off a tract for settlement by those not wishing to emigrate; and highly approve of Congress appropriating one million dollars annually to aid the states to remove their slaves, providing the states would pass laws for the gradual abolition of slavery." [2]

The society in Chester County, Pennsylvania, was formed in 1820, and originated in a desire to assist those illegally held in slavery and also to raise the standard of the free negro. Within a year they were instrumental in rescuing from slavery a free black confined in a jail in Belle Air, Maryland.[3] In 1823 they went one step farther in advocating gradual emancipation, but they hesitated at immediate emancipation where blacks were numerous. Nevertheless they advocated in Delaware, Maryland and the District of Columbia, "absolute and immediate emancipation" as not only safe but wise.[4] From this society came some of the most active members of the American Convention: — Lea Pusey, Abraham Marshall and Benjamin Pennock.

The society in West Middletown, Pennsylvania, was said in 1826 to consist "of a very respectable number of citizens," and to be "cheerfully disposed to receive other respectable citizens who may wish to lend their names and influence for abolishing (so far as is legally practicable) that unjust and wicked practice of man enslaving his fellowman." [5]

The Franklin (Penn.) Manumission Society in February, 1827, found the friends of emancipation and colonization increasing in numbers and in their exertions. The society was organized on

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1818, p. 29; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, vol. 4, supplement III.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 131. The resolutions are signed by Lewis Morris.

[3] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 37.

[4] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 21. The society was represented by delegates at each of these conventions.

[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 364.

January 1, 1827, and at once sent two petitions to the Legislature and to Congress, praying for the destruction of the slave markets, and for the freedom of the *post nati*. The members also determined to support at the next election only such candidates as favored the anti-slavery cause. This is one of the earliest suggestions of the political organization of the abolitionists.[1]

At a "convention of Delegates from Western Pennsylvania," held in Washington, Pennsylvania, on June 26, 1826, delegates were sent to the American Convention, and measures were taken looking to an annual assembly at the same place.[2] For two years after the first society in that part of the state was organized all the energies of the friends of anti-slavery were exerted in attending to individual cases, and in acquiring information; from that time a more lively interest manifested itself, and committees were appointed to draw the attention of the public more generally to the subject. These committees delivered lectures at many places on the evil of slavery from the moral, religious and political standpoints, urged universal emancipation, and met all objections. As a result, in the few counties concerned, the societies increased. In 1827 they numbered ten or twelve, several of which were large and prosperous, with more constantly forming. Another result was a great increase in interest, even among those not joining the societies. "We view," say the representatives of this Convention, "the cause of emancipation as one which above all other political considerations is worthy the serious attention of the American people. One which, owing to the deep and lasting interest this Union would derive from its accomplishment, deserves our hearty coöperation and support."

The fact that so large a proportion of the residents of the Northwestern states came from the slave states for the express purpose of escaping from the evils of slavery, may account in some measure for the number and radical tone of the anti-slavery societies there, as compared with some other parts of the Union. The earliest report from an Ohio society was that of the "Female Association for the benefit of Africans in Cincinnati, Ohio," in 1821,

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 145.

[2] For the reports of this convention see Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 58, 59. Delegates were sent to this latter body in 1826 and 1827, and in 1827 an address was prepared by a special committee, which gave in brief the history of the movement.

stating that it had established Sunday Schools, and made earnest efforts to raise the money necessary for their support.[1]

The society meeting at "Sunsbury meeting house, Monroe County, Ohio," in 1826 desired to do all that was possible toward the entire abolition of slavery by refraining from slave produce; by publishing essays, original or selected, in order "to throw light on the subject and to show that slavery is incompatible with the principles of Christianity and contrary to sound policy"; by doing all possible for the relief of the blacks in Ohio, through endeavors to remove the prejudice against them; and by petitioning the Legislature for the repeal of all laws opposed to the full equality of blacks with whites.[2] The attitude of this society, both in its published addresses and in its constitution, is extremely radical. "We believe," they say, "slavery a crime of the deepest dye that ever did, or ever will disgrace any people, and that wherever equal rights and equal privileges cease there slavery begins; and we also believe that the conscious receiver is as bad as the thief, and therefore, if we act the part of true philanthropists we cannot partake of the products of slavery." By their constitution "no person shall be admitted to membership unless he is in unison with the following propositions. 1st. I am opposed to every species of slavery. 2nd. I am willing to do all I can, consistently, towards the abolition of slavery. 3rd. When any of this class shall become free, I wish them to partake of the common privileges of other free citizens."

A society newly formed in New Lisbon, Ohio, published in 1826 an address on the evils of slavery, and the necessity of gradual emancipation as the only safe course.[3] A little later the society was said to have more than five hundred members.[4] Members of the "Columbiana Abolition Society" of New Lisbon,[5] resolved in July, 1827, to withhold their votes from all persons who were not decidedly opposed to the system of slavery, and who would not use every lawful effort to remedy the evil.[6]

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 94.

[2] The Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826 (p. 49) contains a communication from this society which sets forth clearly its aims and beliefs. See also the Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 122.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 123.

[4] *Ibid.* 6. 182.

[5] This society was in the same place as the one last mentioned, and may have been the same society, called by another name.

[6] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 29.

According to many publications of the time there were numerous societies in Illinois; one in Edwardsville exerted an influence during the struggle in that State. No records of work were sent to the American Convention, however, and but little is known of them. They were apparently not very active or radical, and they may have been disbanded early in the period.

The question of the comparative worth of free and slave labor is one that early engaged the attention of controversialists, and many pamphlets were written to prove the dearness of slave labor. During the latter part of the period 1808–1831 vigorous attempts were made to induce the friends of abolition to refuse to use the products of slave labor. In 1826 the American Convention in its address to the abolition societies in the United States advised that all friends of the slave should give a preference to articles produced by the labor of freemen, for the purpose of creating a market for such produce and of keeping the fundamental principles of anti-slavery before the minds of the people.[1] At least two societies made this object their specific purpose. The Delaware Free Labor Society, which was still in its infancy in September, 1827, believed that the slaveholders would substitute free labor for slave if they were convinced that they would gain by the change, and that the end sought by all abolitionists, universal emancipation, might be reached in this way. The aim of the society was to induce the people of the slaveholding districts to try the experiment, as an object lesson to the opponents of abolition. Some felt that this discrimination might lead to resentment rather than to conviction, but the society felt that this would be avoided if no premium were placed on free labor. Many of the officers of this society were also active in the American Convention and in the Delaware Abolition Society.[2]

Another like organization was the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania. In a communication[3] to the American Convention in October, 1827, it is stated that the members of this society had for some time studied the progress of abolitionism, and having remarked the great difference of results in the different parts of the country, they began to investigate more closely to discover the

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, p. 44.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1827, p. 46.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 40–43. The address is signed by the Vice-President, who is also a delegate to the American Convention from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Benjamin Tucker.

cause. They had come to the conclusion that the comparative value of slave and free labor was a great factor in determining this difference; those Northern states in which slave labor was manifestly less profitable had already freed their slaves; the Border states would have done the same had it not been for the impulse to slave breeding through the demand for slaves by the South. If then it could be shown that in this last group of states also, slave labor was less profitable than free, a great victory for freedom would be won. The first object of their association was, therefore, to create a demand for free produce, which would of itself bring a supply. They fear that the growing factory system of the North, dependent on the raising of cotton at the South, would deaden the love of freedom among Northerners, and that some of the employers of slave labor would be more incensed than convinced. Still, since the familiar method of attempting to convince slaveholders of the injustice of slavery had not yet succeeded, they thought it their duty to bring into action the stronger incentive of self-interest. At this time the society had about sixty-five members, and William Rawle was its President.[1]

In 1829 the establishment is reported of a number of "female associations" in Pennsylvania for the use of free cotton. In January of that year there were but thirteen names, in November, over one hundred.[2] In 1830 the colored men of Philadelphia formed a society for the purpose of encouraging free labor. Two hundred and thirty names were signed to the constitution at the first meeting.[3]

Very early, stores were opened in the centers of anti-slavery interest, where one could be sure of obtaining whatever free produce was obtainable. A circular dated August 5, 1826, and signed by Michael Lamb and Benjamin Lundy, denounces slavery and claims that the conviction of greater profit in free labor would be a great factor in causing slavery to cease; they then announce that they have opened a "mercantile house" in Baltimore for the purchase and sale on commission of all articles of free produce, particularly groceries (excepting "spirituous liquors").[4] A month later

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 2, 11. See also the Minutes of the American Convention, for 1829, pp. 57, 58.
[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1829, p. 57.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 11. 163.
[4] *Ibid.* 5. 388.

Lundy withdrew from the business, not because of doubt of its value or success, but because it would interfere too much with his other occupations.[1]

The Delaware Free Labor Society intended to keep a stock of groceries, but was not able to procure them in sufficient quantities to compete with slave produce, excepting in the case of coffee.[2]

In 1829 and 1830 many free produce stores are mentioned: a bakery [3] in Bordentown, New Jersey; a store [4] in Egypt, New Jersey; another [5] in New York City, where one could purchase free-grown cotton, rice, sugar, etc. There were several in Philadelphia; for example, a bakery,[6] a grocery store,[7] a store [8] where cotton and a number of other things might be found, while the first store [9] of this sort for dry goods exclusively was in Philadelphia.

Two institutions for the purpose of educating slaves for freedom are mentioned in these years. An advertisement [10] appeared in October, 1825, for eight or ten negro slaves of steady habits, with their families, to form the nucleus of an institution of this sort under the charge of the "Emancipating Labor Society of Kentucky." In the same year Frances Wright suggested the same principle, advertising in the "Genius" an establishment to educate freed blacks, to be located in West Tennessee. This was supported by a goodly number of persons, among whom was George Flower, and, it was claimed, Lafayette. A letter from a Presbyterian clergyman in South Carolina, written early in 1826, says that the first company of slaves for this institution went from York District, in that state. The scheme was not so well supported as had been hoped; many claimed that while the purpose was ostensibly anti-slavery it was in reality a fraud, and carried on entirely for the benefit of the proprietor; that the education was a farce, and that the negroes remained in reality slaves. Others defended her; and for nearly a year the war of words continued, with no definite result at the last. At this late day it seems impossible to tell whether the establishment was a fraud or merely a failure.[11]

One great difference between the societies of these years and

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 8.
[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, p. 47.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 10. 84.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* 10. 7. [6] *Ibid.* 10. 12.
[7] *Ibid.* 10. 103. [8] *Ibid.* 10. 58. [9] *Ibid.* 11. 25.
[10] *Ibid.* 5. 56, and later.
[11] *Ibid.* 5. 117, 126, 164, 188, 275, 301, 324, 365; 6. 21, 140, 177.

those after 1831 is the entire lack of centralization. With the foundation of the American Anti-Slavery Society came that centralization which made it able to plan and execute, through its agents and auxiliaries. To a very slight extent the early societies in each state were bound together by a central organization. Usually however, this union was no mo e than a convention of de'egates from the various independent societies. The national organization, the American Convention, was, as its full name signifies, a "convention of delegates from abolition societies," and was powerless to execute, although able in some degree to plan and recommend. Money was difficult to raise in sufficient quantities, since the central body had no authority to demand from any society the quota assigned to it.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AMERICAN CONVENTION

The first meeting of a national anti-slavery society was held in Philadelphia, January 1, 1794, under the title "American Convention of Delegates from Abolition Societies," or, after the new constitution of 1818, 'The American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the Condition of the African Race." [1] In the same constitution which gives us its distinctive name we read also of the representation; it was to be from societies associated to protect the free blacks, or to promote the abolition of slavery in the United States. From the first it was practically representative, composed (in 1794) of delegates from societies in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware (2), Maryland (2), and Virginia.[2] Until 1806 the meetings were annual, although none were held in 1799 and 1802; in 1806 they decided to meet triennially, and met in accordance with this decision, in 1809, 1812, and 1815. The meeting of 1815 was immediately adjourned to 1816; after this date they held biennial meetings until 1829. Many of these were adjourned to a date a year later, a custom which gave the practical effect of annual meetings for several years.[3] In all, twenty-four conventions were held in the thirty-six years 1794 to 1829, inclusive. From 1830 to 1837 no meeting was held, although calls were occasionally issued; in 1838 the Pennsylvania society issued a call to those societies known to have been represented in the last Convention, to meet and make arrangements for the future; delegates from New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware met, and, "after mature consideration," it was there determined that "as the great object for

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 155. It is on account of the name as here given, by which the Convention was known for the greater part of the period, that the writer has preferred to use the words "American Convention," rather than "Convention of Delegates," used by some writers.

[2] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 408; "William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879," 1. 89.

[3] Thus the regular meetings were held in 1815, 1817, 1819, 1821, 1823, 1825, 1827 and 1829; and the adjourned meetings in 1816, 1818, 1826 and 1828.

which that body was originally organized did not appear likely to be further promoted by its longer continuance, the Convention had better be then dissolved." [1]

Not all abolition or anti-slavery societies were represented in these conventions. According to the Reports the only societies invariably represented between 1808 and 1829 were those of New York and Pennsylvania, while more than half of the societies represented each year were in Pennsylvania and the states further north. It is true that neither in the extreme North nor in the extreme South was there a decided interest shown in the American Convention; still it was at least as great in the North as in the South, as will be seen by an examination of the accompanying table showing the location of the societies represented during the period.[2] Next to New York and Pennsylvania was Delaware, which missed but five of the thirteen conventions, and to one of these sent an address on the work of the year. Maryland was represented in six conventions. The total of different organizations[3] represented is seventy-one; of this number thirty-nine were Northern, twenty (nearly two-thirds of the remainder) from the two Border states of Delaware and Maryland; while only twelve, or about one-sixth, were from the states which later preferred slavery with independence. Eleven other societies at one time or another sent communications without delegates: four in the North (two in Massachusetts and two in Ohio), three in Delaware and Kentucky, and the remaining four in the South. The conclusion is then that more than half of the total representation came from the Northern states, two-sevenths from the Border states, and only a trifle under one-fifth from the lower South.

Each society was entitled to ten delegates, and all usually appointed the whole number, but the attendance was always small, and spectators may have been counted among the delegates.

One of the most interesting as well as one of the most important

[1] Edward Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Society for . . . Abolition of Slavery," pp. 96, 97. These statements, save the two credited, are based on the published minutes of the meetings, and differ somewhat from the estimates of Mr. Birney and some others.

[2] The table is compiled from the minutes of the Conventions; it will be seen to disprove the somewhat prevalent idea that the Convention was a strictly Southern organization.

[3] It is not easy to be sure of the exact number of societies represented at the meetings, although the names of those naming delegates are given, and often others sending communications; for these were in many cases sent from a convention of societies, as that in Virginia, or by a state association with many local branches, like the one in Tennessee.

THE REPRESENTATION

1809	1812	1816	1817	1818	1819	1821
New York Pennsylvania	New York Pennsylvania (Kentucky [1])	N. Y. Penn.	New York Pennsylvania (Kentucky [1])	New York Pennsylvania Columbia, Penn.	N. Y. Penn.	New York Pennsylva Chester C Penn.
New Jersey	Trenton, N. J.					Providenc R. I.
Delaware	(Delaware [1])	Del.	Delaware [Kent Co., Del.[2]] Easton, Md.	Delaware [Kent Co., Del.[2]] [Easton, Md.][2]		Delaware
4	5	3	6	6		5

[1] These societies sent communications but appointed no delegates.

[2] These societies sent communications and appointed delegates, but none were present. The
or main societies with many branches. Possibly others were also. Four societies are distinctly n
The name of a state alone in the above tables means the main society in the state, having that n
e. g., Columbia, Penn., are placed separately, and, in general, after the state society. They are n

parts of the work of these conventions was the hearing of reports from the societies, and from the committees appointed for specific purposes. Many significant extracts from the reports of the societies have been given above. The reports from the Acting Committee of each Convention are exceedingly instructive, since this committee was appointed at one session to hold over to the next, and was therefore the vital part of the Convention.

The report of 1821 will serve as an example.[1] In December, 1820, the committee had published and distributed one thousand copies of a pamphlet containing the speeches of Taylor and Talmadge in the House, and Rufus King in the Senate; the report of a committee from the Delaware Society respecting the constitutionality of congressional prohibition of slavery in new states;

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 24, 25.

AMERICAN CONVENTIONS

1823	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829
v York nsylvania ster Co., enn.	New York Pennsylvania	New York Pennsylvania Western Penn.	New York Pennsylvania Western Penn.	New York Pennsylvania	New York Pennsylvania
vidence . I. aware	Providence R. I.	Providence R. I. Delaware	Penn. Free Prod. Delaware	Penn. Free Prod. Nat. Anti-Slavery Tract	[Penn. Free Prod.[2]] Nat. Anti-Slavery Tract
nessee	Tennessee	(W.) Tenn.	Wilmington Free Labor	Tennessee	
	Maryland	Maryland (Sunsbury, Ohio [1]) (Andover Sem., Mass.[1]) (Williams College, Mass.[1]) No. Carolina Loudon, Va.	Maryland Salem, O. (Columbiana Soc., Ohio [1]) (Alexandria [1]) (Greensboro N. C.[1]) Va. Conven. Washington	Maryland Baltimore Protection (No. Carolina [1])	Alexandria (No. Carolina [1]) Washington
6	5	12	13	10	7

s of Western Penn., Tennessee, Virginia and No. Carolina, were either "Conventions" of societies, d by name as those in Western Penn. in 1826; how many were unrepresented we cannot tell.
e reports *e. g.*, the New York Abolition Society. Societies in any particular parts of a state, as, d before, but sometimes appear in the same line when the main society was not represented.

and a letter from John Jay on the subject. They also printed and distributed seven hundred copies of the minutes of the preceding Convention. They prepared a memorial setting forth the necessity for an alteration of the Missouri Constitution to prevent the introduction of slavery and to guard the rights of the free colored man there, and sent it to John Sergeant, a Representative from Pennsylvania, to be presented if he thought best. Apparently the right time never came, as it was never presented. They also speak of a sub-committee which was to appeal to the members of the Pennsylvania Legislature from Philadelphia, to instruct the Senators from Pennsylvania to oppose the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Correspondence had also been carried on during the period with the societies in Kentucky.

An important work of this committee was the printing, or purchase, and circulation of tracts, essays, etc., on the subject of

slavery, with the object of arousing the consciences of the people by giving them light on the true nature of the institution. Copies of Clarkson's History of the Slave Trade were in this way given [1] to the President and Vice-President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and to the Congressional Library, in 1809. In 1817 this publication was more widely circulated, seven hundred and fifty being subscribed for by the New York Society, and six hundred and thirty-five by that in Pennsylvania, besides one hundred purchased by the Convention itself, for circulation in Kentucky and Tennessee, and others sent elsewhere by the Acting Committee.[2]

The principal business of the sessions of the Convention was first the passing of resolutions, nearly all of which called for the appointment of committees, and second, the hearing of the reports of these committees later in the session. A committee of arrangements was appointed at the first meeting of each session, to which nearly all business proposed was referred without discussion. This committee, after deliberation, presented to the Convention in the form of Resolutions such matters as seemed to them appropriate for discussion during the meetings.

The topics discussed were many. The circular address to the Abolition Societies was always an important item. Addresses to the citizens of the United States, or to the clergy, were often discussed, and sent out under the authority of the Convention. Memorials to Congress, and to the various State Legislatures, were often considered, and their subject matter, if not their exact wording, adopted by the vote of the delegates. It may be interesting to note the different subjects considered in these meetings in addition to their routine business. In 1809 no item of business seems to have been considered apart from the recommendations to the societies. These recommendations, incorporated in the address, were with reference to kidnapping, the education of the blacks, the publication of tracts and pamphlets, and the importance of an increase in the number of societies.

In 1816 the first Convention memorial to Congress was adopted, and the question of colonization was mooted. In 1817 colonization was further discussed, and publications against slavery were sub-

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1809, p. 32.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1817, pp. 20, 32.

scribed for. In 1818 came still another discussion of colonization, and a memorial to Congress. In 1821 the Convention seemed more wide awake; a committee was appointed to collect the slave laws of the different states, and the topics under discussion were, the oppression of the free blacks in the slave states, kidnapping, the interstate slave trade as affected by the acquisition of Florida, a plan for gradual emancipation, voluntary emigration to Hayti, and memorials to Congress on these and kindred topics. In 1823 the discussion turned upon abolition in the District of Columbia, another plan for gradual emancipation, the Colored Seamen's Act in South Carolina, the publication of a periodical paper, and upon memorials on the interstate slave trade and slave testimony in the courts.

In 1825 a larger number of resolutions than usual were presented by individuals on abolition in the District of Columbia, the illegal introduction of slaves into the United States, universal abolition, State emancipation acts, education of the blacks, colonization of the blacks on the public lands, and the promotion of free labor. A plan for general emancipation, with a sort of colonization, offered[1] by W. L. Stone, embracing also the amelioration of the condition of the slaves while yet in bondage, in the direction of legal marriages, prohibition of the separation of families, and education of the children, was the most noteworthy of the new topics presented in 1826. The topics in 1827 were in general the same: abolition in the District of Columbia, right of slaves to trial by jury, education of free black children, the question of slavery in Florida, the domestic slave trade and kidnapping, free labor, a plan for gradual emancipation, slave marriages and slave testimony in the courts.[2] In 1828 a step in advance was the appointing of special committees, in addition to the Acting Committee, to hold over to the next session. These were to investigate and report on, first, the African slave trade, second, the domestic slave trade, third, the state of slavery in the United States, fourth, the Black Codes in the United States, and fifth, kidnapping.

The Convention felt that one of the most important means of

[1] The large proportion of the business of the adjourned session of 1826 was the completion of the unfinished business of 1825.

[2] In the session of 1827 a considerable amount of business was discussed which remained from 1826, either because the time had been too short, or because committees needed more time for their investigations.

spreading the sentiment for abolition was the banding together of those already convinced of its necessity, to form a nucleus around which others might gather, as they became converts. Through these gatherings the Acting Committee of the American Convention could more easily reach those yet uninterested, while the meetings and publications of the local societies would be a possible means of awakening their neighbors. The increase of the societies was thought of great importance in 1817, 1818, 1821, and especially in 1826, and circulars were sent to various individuals in the different states to encourage their formation.[1] In 1826 the address incited the societies to do all they could to stimulate their friends, neighbors and connections in different localities to institute manumission or abolition societies.[2] In 1827 it is declared that there are no better means of promoting the object of the Convention than the forming of these societies, and through them giving information in regard to the evils and the impolicy of slavery, and the advantages to be gained by its abolition.[3]

The earliest method of arousing public sentiment referred to in the Minutes seems to have been the publication of essays, and tracts, to serve as means of educating the people as to the true condition of affairs, and the true principle under discussion. This topic was one of those made most prominent[4] in 1809, and never seems to have been entirely lost sight of, although little or nothing more is directly heard of it until 1825. The resolution on the subject adopted by this Convention (1825) reads: "*Whereas* the abolition of slavery in the United States must emphatically be the act of the people: — and *Whereas*, there is good cause to believe that this practice is now mainly upheld by mistaken self-interest, prejudice, and an incorrect estimate of its nature and tendency, and that much good would result from convincing the public mind in the slave-holding states of the impolicy and injustice of slavery, therefore, *Resolved*, That the acting committee be instructed to collect, digest and circulate throughout the slave-holding States, such facts and other information as is calculated to prove the impolicy of slavery and the practicability, safety and advantage of emancipation."[5] There is nothing in the discussions of 1826 or 1827 on

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1817, p. 23; for 1818, p. 32; for 1821, p. 49; and for 1826, p. 10.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1826, p. 46.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1827, p. 20.
[4] *Ibid.* for 1809, p. 32.
[5] *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 21.

this subject, but in the address to the societies which was adopted in 1827 the circulation of such material through the abolition societies is given as one of the most important means to success, and a list of publications of especial value is given, of which a large proportion were written by Englishmen, and perhaps reprinted in this country.[1]

In 1828 one resolution took the form of a vote of encouragement to editors of periodicals and newspapers who would show their determination to assist in the work of emancipation, and another presented the same idea in a more concrete form, as follows: "*Resolved*, That the Convention has observed with great satisfaction the efforts of the Editor of the '*Journal of the Times*' a Weekly Paper published in Bennington, Vermont, to aid the cause of liberty; and recommends that the acting committee be directed to subscribe for five copies of said paper."[2] Another resolution, carried over for the next session, provided distinctly for the appropriation of money to print and circulate books, pamphlets, and tracts; and in the next session it was voted to use all their "surplus funds" in this manner.[3] A third resolution adopted in 1828 merely suggested to the societies the propriety of inserting in the newspapers from time to time extracts on the subject of slavery.[4]

These were not, however, the only efforts to circulate pamphlets which might arouse the people to a sense of the need of abolition. The Convention attempted a compilation of the history of slavery in the United States; but in 1809 it appeared that the intending author had been hampered by illness, and in 1812 it was stated that he was dead. In the mean time Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade was issued, and further action on the other book was discontinued. Copies of the minutes of the Conventions, including the resolutions discussed and adopted, and usually the addresses of the various societies to the Convention, were printed, both in the newspapers and in pamphlet form, and widely scattered.[5] These, and other examples of the work of the American Convention, are gleaned from its printed minutes, and for this they are invaluable. Unfortunately they never give any

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, p. 20.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 9.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 10; for 1829, p. 19.
[4] Offered by Francis Burke, *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 15.
[5] On one occasion at least 1000 copies were thus distributed.

details of the discussions, and almost never the number voting on either side of a question. It is therefore impossible to decide upon the grounds for the rejection of any given resolution, nor can we tell the attitude of any of the delegates, unless they, as individuals, present some resolution for consideration. We cannot learn, further, how far the sections took divergent views.

The foreign slave trade was prohibited in 1807 but it received some discussion during these meetings. In 1809, the next meeting after the passage of the prohibition, the Convention congratulated the country on its success, but pointed out that there was still much work left to do while such a mass of slaves remained in the country.[1] At the next session of the Convention (1812), reports were read showing that citizens of the United States were still engaged in the traffic.[2] But the matter is one of the lesser topics, and attention is given almost entirely to affairs within the country, for it was clear that the prohibition of the slave trade could not be absolutely perfect while slavery was allowed in the country, and the nature of men remained the same. In 1825 one item of business was the appointment of a committee which should see if any and what further measures could be taken to prevent the illegal importation of slaves into the country.[3] In 1828 a standing Committee on the African Slave Trade was appointed to hold over to the next session.[4]

The domestic slave trade was felt to be a most important point of attack, and almost always came up. Memorials on this subject were drafted, and after the stirring excitement of the Missouri Contest, in 1820, during the more vigorous discussion of all anti-slavery topics, it was not allowed to drop. In 1821 the Convention noted the existence of "an internal commerce that ought to be checked" and a committee was appointed to investigate and report measures to stop both the foreign and the domestic trade.[5] They reported that the subject was too large for such a committee and advised the reference of it to the Acting Committee for action during the interim of the Convention.[6] Special committees on this subject were appointed[7] in 1823 and 1825, and the topic was

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1809, p. 29.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1812, pp. 18–20, 27.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 18.
[4] *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 14.
[5] *Ibid.* for 1821, pp. 22, 23.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 30.
[7] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 43; for 1825, p. 28; for 1826, pp. 7, 42.

brought up in 1826. In 1828 a Committee on the Internal Slave Trade was made one of the regular standing committees, and it was directed to "enquire into the expediency of petitioning Congress to pass a law prohibiting the transportation of slaves for sale, from or to the several States of the United States by sea." [1] The interesting report of this committee will be more fully considered in a later chapter, since it gives in some detail the conditions of the traffic, and some of the reasons why it was so prosperous.[2] They "consider the subject as one of the greatest magnitude and importance that can gain the attention of the Convention." These standing committees were again appointed in 1829, and embodied their ideas in a memorial for abolition in the District of Columbia, which was adopted.[3]

Kidnapping was closely allied to the domestic slave trade, and was clearly illegal, hence it was often discussed, and denounced with vehemence. As early as 1809 the societies were urged to use the most efficient measures to prevent the "inhuman practice of kidnapping," by "men so lost to all honourable feelings, so deeply depraved as to violate those laws of their country which were intended to protect the rights of free people of colour." [4] All vigilance is desired, especially by the abolitionists of the Border states, for the detection and suppression of the crime. The enslaving of free blacks is deplored in the report for 1812, and the general subject considered in 1816 and 1817. In 1821 attention was called to the evil which was abating in New York, but still all too prevalent in Pennsylvania.[5] A special committee reported that no subject required more attention than kidnapping, in the suppression of which they expected the "approbation and cordial support of every respectable class of society." They recommended a uniform system of laws in the different states, that would encourage prosecutions and provide severer penalties. They believed also that measures should be taken to inform those who might be in danger, of the various means of seduction that were used.[6]

In 1827 this subject was combined with the domestic slave trade, and a committee appointed to consider the allied topics.[7] In 1828

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, p. 14.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 21–24; see below, p. 198.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1829, pp. 13, 15, 23.
[4] *Ibid.* for 1809, pp. 24, 26–28.
[5] *Ibid.* for 1812, pp. 21, 27; for 1816, pp. 24, 31; for 1817, p. 24; for 1821, p. 22.
[6] *Ibid.* for 1821, pp. 29, 30.
[7] *Ibid.* for 1827, pp. 7, 24.

a standing committee was appointed to consider this question, separating it from both the foreign and the domestic slave trade.[1] Resolutions of appreciation were passed at this meeting for the "unwearied efforts of Joseph Watson, Mayor of Philadelphia, and Samuel P. Garrignes, one of the chief police, in restoring to liberty several kidnapped persons, and in bringing the offenders to punishment." According to the report of the standing committee of 1828 the kidnappers were in many instances known, but as the only witnesses were persons of color, whose testimony was inadmissible in the courts, they were rarely brought to trial.[2] The committee personally investigated the question, and saw numbers of slave gangs. "The shrieks and groans of the wretched victims would have melted any heart but that of the slave trader, steeled by avarice, or petrified by cruelty."

The question of the compilation of the various State laws in regard to the colored people came up several times in the Conventions. In 1821 a committee was proposed to have this work in charge.[3] It was appointed, but was not ready to report [4] in 1823, and in 1826 and 1827 the Convention agreed to subscribe for Stroud's work.[5] In 1828 it was resolved to examine the State Black Codes, and to determine just what the Convention would better undertake with reference to them;[6] especially with reference to the oppression of the free blacks in the slave states, the District of Columbia[7] and Ohio;[8] the sympathy of the slaveholders with the Colored Seamen's Act in South Carolina;[9] and the need of state and national legislation in behalf of the blacks. Laws were needed to preserve the sanctity of marriage,[10] to allow blacks to testify in the courts,[11] and to give them the privilege of trial by jury when claimed as runaway slaves.[12]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, pp. 13, 14.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 21–24.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1821, p. 5.
[4] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 23.
[5] *Ibid.* for 1826, p. 12; for 1827, p. 13. In 1827 the name of Stroud is given, and it is probable that the same one is referred to in 1826, as it was also a collection of slave laws to be published in Philadelphia.
[6] *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 7.
[7] See *Ibid.* for 1821, p. 22.
[8] See *Ibid.* for 1829, p. 8.
[9] See *Ibid.* for 1823, pp. 25, 36.
[10] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 25; for 1826, pp. 7, 10, 47; for 1827, p. 12.
[11] *Ibid.* for 1823, p. 25; for 1826, p. 42; for 1827, p. 10.
[12] *Ibid.* for 1827, p. 7.

CHAPTER XV

REMEDIES PROPOSED BY THE AMERICAN CONVENTION

The advocates of slavery wished to have the slaves and also the free blacks kept in subjection and governed by different laws from the whites, but the most enlightened and conscientious could not openly advocate the points against which the convention set itself the most decidedly, and few pro-slavery men really favored either kidnapping or the slave trade, whether domestic or foreign. With one exception the American Convention kept itself within these moderate limits until 1821, not overstepping the boundary which separated the permissible from the doubtful questions. The one notable exception was the advocacy of the education of the colored race, both free and slave; this was opposed in all periods by the pro-slavery men, and led in later years even to violence. The American Convention in every session advocated the education of at least the free negro; in the session of 1809 it declared that especial attention should be paid to the "religious, moral and intellectual improvement" of the blacks, and observed with satisfaction the work done in that direction. "Although liberty be a blessing," they say in their address to the societies, "when we obtain the freedom of the slave our work is not completed." They recommended, as the least that should be done, instruction in reading so that the blacks might be able to read the Bible, and training in the elementary branches of arithmetic.[1] In 1821 the Convention was of opinion that abolition without education would lose all its value, and gratification was expressed at the educational work of the New York Abolition Society, expressing the hope that their example might be followed elsewhere. "Let us not forget," they say, "how much depends on the careful instruction of all who are free."[2]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1809, pp. 24, 28, 29. The address to the societies was quite radical on this point.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1812, pp. 20, 21, 26, 27. A special address was sent to the societies in 1818 (Minutes, p. 36) on this subject.

The Convention of 1821 first advocated the education of slaves as a necessary part of any system of emancipation.[1] In other questions, also, this year 1821 was a turning point toward more radical measures, even beyond such measures as would be accepted by the better class of the slaveholders. In 1823 education was held to be one of the great means for promoting emancipation, so that the condition of the free blacks should no longer be an argument for the continuance of slavery.[2] In 1825, in furtherance of their aim, a committee was appointed to propose such measures as might be "best calculated to extend education among the colored population."[3]

In 1826 the Convention recommended to the support of the societies the substance of some radical resolutions offered by W. L. Stone. *Whereas*, in the opinion of the Convention, "*ignorance* and *vice* are inseparable companions . . . and *Whereas*, it is admitted, on all hands, that, sooner or later, the work of emancipation must be undertaken, and prosecuted to its completion; *Therefore*, and in order that the slaves may be better fitted to appreciate and enjoy the blessings of freedom" — *Resolved*, to recommend to the Legislatures of the several states the repeal of all anti-educational laws, and also that all proprietors of slaves be requested to encourage by all possible means the giving of their slaves the rudiments of English and religious education.[4] The Convention also speaks of "another subject fraught with importance to the speedy success of our cause," the character of the free blacks, which was urged by proslavery advocates as a strong argument. "Hence the importance," they urge, "of improving the circumstances of the people of color by every means in the power of the benevolent. For this purpose the first in magnitude is Education." They instance the cases where African schools have already been established in various parts of the country, and the proof of good attainment by the scholars, which they gave in the specimens of their work shown to the Convention. Industrial education is also suggested as a valuable mode of improving the condition of the free blacks.[5]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 52, 53.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1823, pp. 40, 41.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 18. They were not ready to report during the session, and though the matter was left over they did not report as a committee (Minutes for 1825, p. 27; for 1826, p. 42).
[4] *Ibid.* for 1826, pp. 7, 10, 47.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 45, 46.

In 1827 the Convention took a step in advance by preparing an address to the citizens of the United States on the education of free colored children, with a strong recommendation to the friends of emancipation to provide Sunday Schools, and any other means they considered wise, for the education of indigent colored children.[1] In 1828 the American Convention sent an address on this subject to the colored people themselves, in order to rouse them to a sense of the need of education for their children, and the free schools established in New York and Philadelphia were discussed in detail.[2] The Convention felt that the colored people claimed more than freedom in return for the injuries they had suffered, and for that reason especial attention was recommended to both the literary and industrial education of the children. Some schools had obtained the most satisfactory results, and the same could probably be obtained in other places; while it was certain that facts like these would do more to "obliterate idle prejudices than all abstract reasoning on the subject." [3] In 1829 the Convention was glad to find that opportunities for the instruction of colored children were increasing, and recommended that the societies continue their efforts to procure the repeal of all anti-education laws.[4]

The protection of the free blacks and the general improvement of the slaves did not necessarily involve the idea of abolition, although that subject often comes in as a collateral topic. The radical action of the Convention was the expression of the need of those already in bondage, and the possibility of freeing them, either by legal enactment or individual action. Many of the earlier books, pamphlets, and tracts issued by the Convention before 1820 were intended to arouse public sentiment to the point of freeing the slaves, but it did no more than to recommend to the societies the use of these publications, the remaining work being done entirely by the societies themselves. With the era of the Missouri Compromise came a period of more radical work, and the frequent comparisons between slave and free labor after 1823 were intended to bring about legal emancipation by proving that it was to the interest of the slaveholders.

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 7, 17–20, 28.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 31. Reports of the schools had been sent and referred to in discussion at the other meetings of the Convention. It is almost entirely from the communications of the New York Society to the American Convention that we learn the details of their educational work.

[3] Minutes for 1828, p. 29.

[4] *Ibid.* for 1829, pp. 8, 35.

In 1823 the Convention purchased and circulated one hundred copies of a pamphlet on this subject by Adam Hodgdon, or Hodgson, published by the New York Abolition Society.[1] In 1825 Isaac Barton offered a series of resolutions, the substance of which was that in the opinion of the Convention, it was incumbent upon the friends of the abolition of slavery to give a decided preference to free labor; that therefore it was expedient to give a moderate premium on sugar, cotton, rice and tobacco when raised by free labor.[2] The first of these resolutions was greatly modified in 1826, and passed as a recommendation to abolitionists.[3] In 1825 a committee appointed to enquire into the best means for the abolition of slavery reported[4] in favor of a statement of facts and information to prove the impolicy of slavery; an address to the religious and intellectual leaders in the country, to rouse them to action in this direction; and an address regarding free labor. With regard to this last point they recommended that a premium should be paid to the one who should best prove, by the actual labor of the same persons as slaves and as freemen, the comparative value of the two. The first two recommendations were at once adopted, but the third provoked considerable discussion, and was at last indefinitely postponed.[5]

The subject was considered in 1828 in great detail, beginning with the minute report[6] of a committee appointed to investigate the relative advantages between free and slave labor. This committee was not able to find such details as would conclusively prove a greater pecuniary profit in free labor, but merely some general information on the subject. Sugar and coffee could be procured at New York, Philadelphia, and Wilmington, Delaware, unstained by slave labor. Some companies were trying the experiment in Florida and Louisiana, with what success they did not know, save that the Florida sugar was good. There were several cotton planters in North Carolina and Alabama who used only free labor, and were well satisfied to continue thus. While the committee knew of some who had used their cotton they could not ascertain what degree of encouragement was held out to the plant-

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1823, p. 24.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 17.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 28; for 1826, pp. 9, 42.
[4] *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 18.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 18, 21, 22, 24, 27. For the discussion of the matter in 1826 and 1827 see report for 1826, p. 44; for 1827, pp. 7, 17.
[6] *Ibid.* for 1828, pp. 7, 25–27.

ers, as it was not to any considerable extent kept separate from other cotton by the users. Tobacco was successfully cultivated in Ohio, and sold in Baltimore at a lower price than slave-grown Maryland tobacco; and even the colored colony in Upper Canada could compete in this product in some Atlantic seaports; an indication that it was a pecuniary advantage to use free labor. The report and resolutions in the Conventions in regard to free labor are far from radical, and we should feel that there was little real anti-slavery sentiment among those participating, were it not that many of the most active abolitionists thought the emphasizing of such competition would not be helpful to the slave. Many thought it impossible to prevent the exchange of slave products, while others believed that a successful discrimination, and the resulting failure of markets, would rouse ill feeling, and would antagonize rather than lead to other methods of cultivation. Hence, while no one opposed an investigation, few were willing to risk antagonizing the slaveholders.

The most moderate form of abolition, by manumission, was not often discussed in the Convention. In 1828 the following resolution, offered by Lundy, was adopted.[1] "*Whereas*, This Convention, having been informed that the disposition appears to be increasing among the holders of Slaves in some parts of the United States, (where public opinion and the Laws will not as yet sanction general emancipation,) to emancipate their Slaves, by removing them with their own consent to other lands where they may enjoy the rights and privileges of freemen, *Therefore*, *Resolved*, That this Convention views with pleasure these indications of a reformation in public sentiment, and a desire to promote the cause of justice in those sections of the country to which we have just alluded; and we recommend to the Anti-slavery Societies in the different states to aid such humane and benevolent individuals in carrying into effect their wishes upon the principles of Equity without infringing the Laws." In 1829 a committee reported that the best method of emancipation was to repeal the anti-manumission laws, and allow the practice freely to masters; and the Convention recommended that all friends of the slave use their exertions for such repeal.[2]

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, pp. 29, 30.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1829, pp. 31, 35.

After 1823 the question of abolition in the District of Columbia, as the common property of both the slave and the free states, and as a portion of the country over which Congress had entire control, was continually and with increasing emphasis kept before the minds of the people by the American Convention. A favorite method was the preparing and sending of memorials to Congress, asking for such a law, none of which had any real effect. Similar to this was the urging of societies and friends of abolition generally to send memorials and petitions to Congress, or to petition their State Legislatures to instruct their Senators to vote for such a measure. These methods, with the addition of circulating in papers and pamphlets arguments to show why it was not only best but necessary, were in reality the only ways in which the Convention could act.

Some attempt was made to induce the abolition of slavery in other parts of the Union besides the District of Columbia. In 1821 the Acting Committee was authorized to correspond with "humane and intelligent individuals" in those states where slavery was permitted, on the subject of abolition in their own states, a method thought especially desirable.[1] A resolution of much the same tenor was presented [2] by Daniel Raymond in 1825. "*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, the only effectual means of abolishing slavery in the U. States is by the passage of laws in the several states, fixing a day, after which, all persons born in the respective states shall be free at a certain age. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend to the different abolition societies in the U. States, and to all individuals who are friendly to the extirpation of slavery from the U. States, to use their endeavors to procure the passage of such a law in the states in which they reside." These resolutions were passed with slight changes in wording.[3]

The question of abolishing slavery throughout the country was more clearly mentioned in the session of 1825. The Acting Committee "deem the speedy and entire emancipation of the slaves in the country a subject of the greatest importance, embracing the

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 32, 57.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 16.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 20, 22, 23. The phrase "the only effectual means of abolishing slavery" was changed to "the most practicable means of effecting the complete extinction of slavery."

primary objects of the Convention and involving conclusions connected with the essential interest and the honor and happiness of the nation. They see that philanthropists in every section of our country and elsewhere, do not cease to give it their earnest attention, and that new light is daily elicited and new views are daily unfolded, and they cannot but hope that the time is not very distant when we shall better understand the subject, invested at present with difficulties, either essentially connected with it, or out of the peculiar construction of government and society in the United States. They do not fear that the Convention will ever lose sight of this primary object, but they would express the hope that the general subject be re-examined at no very distant period. They have not entire confidence in any plan hitherto proposed, but as the subject has lately become much more extensively interesting, we may anticipate more enlightened and feasible expedients for removing from our country one of her greatest enemies, and from her national escutcheon its foulest blot." [1] Plans for abolition by the general government were proposed to the Convention by W. L. Stone in 1826, and all the friends of emancipation in general, and the societies represented in the meeting in particular, were recommended to prepare and forward petitions to Congress asking for immediate and effectual action tending to the abolition of slavery in the United States.[2]

Not only the advantages but the methods of abolition were discussed in the American Convention. It nowhere asks for immediate emancipation, and declared at times that sudden freedom would be no less bad for the slave than for the master. It apparently had a clear judgment as to what measures would be likely to be accepted by the people after persuasion and instruction, and what measures could never be accepted under any circumstances. It believed in going slowly in whatever direction the way opened, in attacking whatever point seemed to have little defence. The methods of emancipation proposed and discussed in the Conventions were quite variant, but all agreed that the progress must be gradual, and that the slave must be educated for his position as a free man, before that freedom actually became his. Nearly all of

[1] A plan of emancipation had been referred to the Acting Committee, which they were not yet prepared to report upon favorably. See Minutes for 1825, pp. 30, 31.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1826, pp. 6, 47.

them conceded to the thickly settled slave states that the freedmen should be removed to some place in which they could exercise their freedom without danger to themselves or embarrassment to the whites to whom they had paid service. The Colonization Society was never really favored by the Convention, yet as early as 1816 the Convention adopted a resolution to correspond with the African Institution of London, England, with the purpose of finding some refuge for the freedmen, and the chief objection to the Colonization Society seemed to be the impracticability of its plans, and their entire separation from emancipation.[1]

In the American Convention the first discussion of any definite plan of emancipation was in 1821, the date of the more radical and aggressive movement in all directions.[2] After quoting from the Declaration of Independence the phrases about the equality of man, the plan thus continues: "These self evident truths, thus solemnly promulgated, and always admitted in theory; at least in relation to ourselves; are well known to be partially denied or disregarded, in most sections of the union, in relation to the descendants of the African race." The writers inveigh against the inconsistency of a people professing equal rights, and boasting of justice and freedom, and yet holding one-seventh of its population as slaves. "It must be admitted," they say, "that it would neither be politic nor safe, for the present system of slavery in the United States to be long continued, without providing some wise and certain means for eventual emancipation." They fearlessly mention the possibility of a slave insurrection, and quote the words of Jefferson, "the Almighty has no attribute which can take part with us in such a contest." They feel it unnecessary to condemn where few defend, and claim that "it is a truth generally acknowledged, that Slavery is an evil, not only by those whom principle, or education have taught to proscribe the practice, but by men of reflection, even in the very vortex of slavery." The necessity before them is not reproaches but a practical plan. "What are the means by which this evil is to be removed consistently with the safety of the master and the happiness of the slave? Perhaps to

[1] See below, pp. 199–207.

[2] In this session they decided to consider in the Committee of the Whole the expediency and practicability of devising a plan of general emancipation, and after a discussion of several days at the regular and adjourned sessions, they adopted and presented to the Convention the plan outlined in the text. See the Minutes, for 1821, pp. 26, 27, 40, 43, 45, 49–54, 57, 58.

some, this question, considered on the ground of absolute justice, may appear of easy solution: *Immediate, universal emancipation.* But however pleasing the prospect may be to the philanthropist, of getting clear of one of the evils of slavery, yet a full examination of local circumstances, must convince us that this would be, to cut, rather than to untie the Gordian knot. Reformation on a large scale is commonly slow. Habits long established are not easily changed." If it were possible to obtain the consent of the slaveholders to immediate emancipation, there was grave question whether it would not produce as much evil as it would cure. The nation owed more to the negro than the liberation of their bodies could liquidate; the policy of slavery had been to reduce him to a machine, to remove all education and incentive to independent action. To throw an untutored man into society without any previous education would be like expecting "an infant to run before it had learned the use of its limbs." Hence any plan of emancipation, to be productive of real good to the slave, must educate him for liberty, and must, therefore, be gradual.

A plan which seemed feasible and likely to meet all the difficulties proposed was then detailed in the Convention. "Let the slaves be attached to the soil, — give them an interest in the land they cultivate." Place them in the position of the serfs of Russia. Then let "wise and salutary laws be enacted," which should provide the means of education for every colored child. The practice of arbitrary punishments for trivial offences should be abolished; the migration or transportation of slaves from one state to another should be prohibited by law; and no slave should be sold out of the county or town in which his master resided without his own consent. Each slave with a family should have a hut and a piece of land for himself; he should work for stipulated wages, with a reduction for maintenance, if supported by his master, and should pay rent for his land. The time given him to cultivate his own land should be deducted from his annual hire. Provision should be made for regular instruction on each farm or plantation, and a wise and equitable system of laws should be established. No one need, however, wait for legislative action before trying this plan, which had been successfully applied in Barbadoes by Joshua Steele.

This plan for emancipation apparently did not meet with general

favor, for it was reconsidered [1] in 1823 in the committee of the whole, and two resolutions passed: that it was not expedient to consider the subject at that time, and that the whole matter be recommended to the Acting Committee for future report. In 1825 the question was again raised, but in a different form, by Thomas Earle, who presented a resolution approving the plan of using the profits of the public lands for "the abolition of slavery and the transportation of persons of color to such country as they may choose for their residence." [2] In 1826 a modified form of this resolution was adopted,[3] by a vote of 12 to 7. No other plan was proposed in 1825 save that of Daniel Raymond, urging the matter upon the individual states.

The resolutions offered by W. L. Stone in 1826 were as follows: "*Whereas*, it is represented by the great body of the owners of slaves that slavery is a great evil, and its continuance and increase fraught with many and appalling dangers: and *Whereas*, the friends of emancipation are frequently called upon by the proprietors of slaves to devise some adequate means to rid the country, by a safe and gradual process, of a population whose continuance among us is so unnatural; . . . and *Whereas*, in the opinion of this Convention, it is expedient for the Nation to put forth its strength in a concentrated effort to free itself from so great a curse, without a forcible interference with the rights of property sanctioned by the constitution: — Therefore" nine resolutions were presented. The first, that it be recommended to the Congress of the United States to provide without delay for the gradual but certain extinction of slavery, and the transportation of the whole colored population to the coast of Africa, or the island of San Domingo, if such an arrangement could be made. The second, that Congress be asked to create a fund of $3,000,000 *per annum*, to

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1823, p. 43.

[2] This resolution, and a supplementary one calling for the appointment of a committee to draw up a memorial for presentation to Congress, were referred to the next session, and practically embodied in another series offered at that time. Being referred to the Committee of Arrangements the original resolutions of Earle were reported. See Minutes, for 1825, pp. 16, 28; for 1826, pp. 5, 6, 8.

[3] Minutes, for 1826, p. 42. The modification radically altered the resolution; it now read: "*Resolved*, that the Convention would highly approve of the appropriation of an adequate portion of the revenue of the United States" for this purpose, no mention being made of the source of such revenue. The committee appointed to draft the memorial which was provided for by the resolution, were to report in 1827. The matter was brought up as the first item of unfinished business in that Convention; the resolution was again adopted in its amended form, and the appointment of a committee discussed, and then indefinitely postponed. See the Minutes, for 1827, pp. 6, 7, 10.

buy slaves of an equal number of both sexes, between sixteen and forty-five, and to transport them till all are gone; the third, that the Convention approve of the proposition to use the public lands for the purpose; the fourth, that Congress be asked to begin by immediate abolition in the District of Columbia, followed by deportation. Resolutions five and six were recommendations for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves who remained; seven, for the drafting of memorials to Congress and the State Legislatures on the subject; and eight and nine recommended the free education of the slaves. This was not such a plan as could meet the approbation of the slaveholders as a whole, and the committee of arrangements did not report it for discussion in the form presented.[1]

In 1829 a committee reported several schemes for emancipation.[2] The first was that of fixing the slave to the soil; the committee questioned its real value as a means of emancipation, and felt also that there was no hope of its speedy adoption. The second scheme, immediate emancipation by legislative enactment, would meet with universal reprobation by the slaveholding states, and was certain not to be adopted. A third scheme was abstinence from the products of slave labor; it was, however, easier to pass laws for abolition than to break off this commercial communication, although the example of individuals might do some good. The emancipation of the *post nati* by the individual states had been sanctioned by the Convention, but it was unlikely that states where the slaves were numerous would pass such a measure. Appeals to convince individuals, and thus to produce voluntary manumissions was the means most used in Europe, but unfortunately the slave states had passed laws restricting manumissions, which must be repealed before anything could be done. Colonization might be useful if it were practicable.

After due consideration the committee recommended the fol-

[1] The items in regard to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, and their education, were reported, as was also that of abolition in the District of Columbia, without the word "immediate." As the reason for the change is given the fact that the same subjects were already before the Convention but the details of Stone's plan were different, and the plan already before the Convention had no real result. See the Minutes, for 1826, p. 10. In 1827 it was recommended that a plan for gradual emancipation be considered in the Committee of the Whole, but it was referred to the next session. Accordingly it was reported in 1828 as an item of unfinished business, and adopted. After some consideration in which no result was obtained, the Committee rose, and asked to be discharged. See the Minutes, for 1827, pp. 7, 17; for 1828, pp. 7, 16.

[2] Minutes, for 1829, pp. 28–35.

lowing:[1] that all friends of emancipation (1) try to convince the whole community of the pernicious effects of slavery on the morals, the enterprise and the happiness of a people; (2) continue "in temperate and conciliatory language to illustrate the inconsistency of slavery and sound policies"; (3) endeavor to procure the repeal of laws against education and emancipation; (4) exert themselves to procure a speedy passage of laws for gradual abolition; (5) endeavor to procure from the national government appropriations to aid voluntary methods and (6) cordially to aid all methods whenever they were brought to their notice. Nothing definite was done with this report, and after a statement of the common expectation that American slavery would cease, and an acknowledgement of the problem as to the method of abolition, the last session of the American Convention adjourned *sine die*.

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1829, p. 35.

CHAPTER XVI

INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN CONVENTION: ADDRESSES

To the historian of anti-slavery a fundamental question is how far the American Convention was an actual force in molding public opinion, and in preparing the way for the later slavery contest. Such influence as it had was exerted in four ways: by its meetings, addresses, memorials, and out-of-doors appeals. The action of the American Convention during the few days when the delegates were together in actual session was the smaller part of its activity. The Acting Committee, which held over during the year, was an important part of the organization; and the addresses sent out by that committee at the request of the Convention were perhaps the most efficient means of spreading anti-slavery influence. This committee, or a special committee authorized by the Convention, sent, during the course of the year, memorials to Congress or to the Legislatures of the States.

The addresses put in form by the Acting Committee give an excellent idea of the attitude of the Convention, since the subject matter, and sometimes even the text, were approved by the delegates in session. The purport of these addresses appears in the preceding chapter. They abounded in vigorous expression; for example, the address of 1809 to the Societies declares that the reluctance of the slave owners to free their slaves was not surprising to one who knew the nature of man, but it was astonishing that kidnapping was allowed. "Domestic slavery is a national crime; a crime which is calculated to excite in the man of upright sentiments, serious and awful apprehensions of the final consequences of its continuance." [1] The "circular address" sent to the societies in 1812 differs little in general tenor from that of 1809. They express disappointment that the passage of the Slave Trade Act has not done all they fondly hoped, they speak of the "twelve hundred thousand of our fellow beings . . . in a state of abject bondage

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1809, pp. 27–29.

in our deluded country," and add, "Let us not forget how much depends on the careful instruction of all who are free." They again denounce kidnappers and recommend great vigilance in their detection and punishment; and they state as their firm opinion that if the laws were faithfully executed the slave trade would cease.[1]

In this same year (1812) a special address was sent to the Kentucky Abolition Society, which had but recently expressed its desire to be counted with the other societies represented in the Convention among the workers for the slave. It is a hearty greeting and welcome for the new society, with earnest wishes for its prosperity and long continuance.[2]

In later years the addresses became more significant. In 1821 the Convention congratulated[3] the abolition societies on what had already been accomplished. It seemed to think the Missouri Compromise at least a partial victory for the Liberty party. The Convention also expressed a conviction that the cause had regularly advanced, and that nothing but perseverance was necessary to ensure the final triumph. "To the perseverance of its advocates alone, may be imputed the great change in public opinion, in favor of the Abolition of Slavery, that has already been effected in the Northern, Middle, and some of the Western States; and we confidently hope, that this will ultimately produce a similar change in the South. We therefore trust, that you will never relax your efforts to promote the emancipation of slaves, till every human being in the United States, shall equally enjoy all the blessings of our free constitution." They felt, however, that the best mode of emancipation was still a matter of great question; "however desirable a total emancipation might be to the philanthropist, we cannot expect the speedy accomplishment of that event." One important section of this address (1821) definitely decided compulsory colonization to be "incompatible with the principles of our government and with the temporal and spiritual interests of the blacks"; nevertheless they consider voluntary emigration to Hayti still open to question. The Convention was extremely doubtful of the wisdom of any measure which should draw off "the most industrious, moral and respectable of its colored population," thus depriving others, less improved, of the benefit of their example

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1812, pp. 26, 27.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1821, pp. 56, 57.

and advice. After the long years of servitude some "retributive justice" is due them; to compensate them for their wrongs they should be improved intellectually and morally, and brought to a true knowledge of God; and this can, they think, best be done in a Christian country. The committee recommend the plan of emancipation which had been adopted for that purpose by the Convention, and call especial attention to the advisability of urging in each state the passage of laws freeing the *post nati*.

The address[1] of 1823 seems intended to check in some measure the too jubilant congratulations aroused by the address of the previous session, although the difference may lie entirely in the attitude of the men composing the committee each year. They warn their readers against the hope for great and sudden success, although the cause is steadily progressing.

Of especial interest is the address[2] to the societies in 1825, because it is a formal argument for the abolition of slavery, a simple and urgent appeal to the reason of those who might read it, and an earnest invitation to all to join them in their labors for the slave. The Convention thinks it almost unnecessary to dwell upon reasons why all should coöperate in the great cause. "It would be an insult to their feelings and understanding, to suppose them unmindful of the rights of their fellowmen, or indifferent to the honor of their country; yet it may be well to direct their attention to some of the calamities inseparably connected with slavery, and to strive to awaken the exertions requisite to effect its abolition. By the Law of Nature all men are entitled to equal privileges, . . . although the artificial distinctions of society may have abrogated it in practice. . . . The barbarous policy which has sanctified the introduction of slaves into this country, sacrificed the injunctions of Revelation to a mercenary ambition, and for temporary interest bestowed a lasting disgrace upon posterity. Time and perseverance may eradicate the evil, which is increasing in importance, and which not only has brought obloquy upon our national character, but threatens to involve us in all the disastrous results of civil discord. There is nothing in our Republic so deeply calculated to promote sectional jealousy as the existence of slavery. The

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1823, pp. 39–41. Thomas Shipley was the only man on both committees.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1825, pp. 33–35.

conflicting policy of slaveholding and non-slaveholding states will increase with its unhappy cause." This address, written four and one half years before the publication of the first number of the "Liberator," and more than three years before Garrison's first avowal of immediate emancipation in Lundy's "Genius," is an irresistible proof that the sectional jealousy which manifested itself in constantly growing intensity was not due wholly or even largely to Garrison alone.

A greater danger than sectional jealousy loomed up before the eyes of these fathers of the abolition movement. "Much is to be feared in many States, from the physical superiority of the Black population," is their note of warning. The innate desire for liberty is in many instances enough to rouse the energies of the slave, and where numerical superiority is added nothing but the influence of example is needed to arouse an insurrection. The strongest argument against slavery in the mind of the Convention was the "indelible disgrace" it brought upon the country, the "glaring inconsistency" which in part justified the sneers of the advocates of monarchy. The people of the United States were trying the experiment of liberal, popular government, and the abject servitude of one part of the population was an argument for the opposite side, and lessened the force of our example. The cruelty so often connected with slavery is mentioned, with the general conclusion that "the voice of humanity is loud in its appeal for the emancipation of the human race."

The closing words of the argument are very like an editorial of Garrison, or a speech of Wendell Phillips. "Is the participation of natural right to be graduated by shades of complexion? Shall one man lead a life of thraldom, because his skin has darkened under a hotter sun? Shall he be the perpetual servant of his fellowman, because deficiency of intellectual power, naturally arising from a want of education and opportunity, have given him less keenness of perception, disqualified him to stand forth the vindicator of the oppressed, to assert his rights, and demand redress for his injuries? No! We trust that there is a redeeming virtue in our fellow-citizens, which will urge them to unite with us in abolishing Domestic Slavery. We invite them, because we believe it to be contradictory to the Law of Nature — in violation of the commands of Christianity — hostile to our political union — dan-

gerous to a portion of our white population — inconsistent with our professed love of liberty — degrading to our national character — and in opposition to the feelings of humanity. Then let not this appalling injustice bring down the wrath of offended heaven on our country — join with us in the endeavor to benefit mankind, and be determined that your zeal shall not waver, nor your exertions diminish, while a single spot in our land is polluted by a slave."

In the address[1] of 1826 the Convention stimulates petitions for abolition in the District of Columbia, and in some detail urges the education of the free colored people. It especially "recommends to the friends of the Abolition of Slavery throughout the United States, in the purchase of articles, the product of our common country, to give a preference to those produced by the labor of *Freemen*." Their reasons for this recommendation are, first, to create a market for free produce, and second, to keep the fundamental principles of anti-slavery alive in the minds of the people at large, and give opportunity to spread and defend their views. With all earnestness, however, they denounce all methods which might arouse the ill feelings of their opponents, since they believe that the cause of personal freedom has always kept pace with the progress of conviction. They believe that calm and dispassionate appeals to the reason and understanding of the advocates of slavery would be the most successful means of "attaining the glorious object of *universal emancipation*."

Three distinct addresses were sent in 1827. One, to the abolition societies, recommended,[2] first, the education of public opinion by the distribution of tracts and other publications; second, an application to the several State Legislatures for laws to prohibit the sale of negroes out of the state; and third, the education of the colored children both free and slave. "The Convention fervently desires," the writers say in closing, "that all who have put their hands to this great work may really deserve the epithet of 'saints' which in irony has been reproachfully cast upon them."

The second address of this year, also to the societies, discussed[3] abolition in the District of Columbia. Since the whole people must share honor or opprobrium from the conduct of the govern-

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, pp. 44–46.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1827, pp. 20–22.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 22–24. Italics as in the original.

ment of the District, the writers address the friends of humanity in all sections, urging them to use all the lawful and just means within their reach "to limit, and finally to eradicate the demoralizing and corrupting influence of slavery" in the District of Columbia. They do not take time or space to detail the advantages which would arise from abolition there, but they declare that in their opinion the effect upon other parts of the country would be most salutary and the influence incalculable. At present the District was practically a large slave market, and if the same condition of affairs should continue, it must, they feel sure, by its demoralizing effects on the residents and the odium aroused in the minds of the enlightened foreigners, "inevitably sap the foundations of our free institutions, and degrade our national character in the eyes of the world." This would in itself, they are persuaded, be a sufficient inducement to labor for the cause of emancipation. It had been asserted, even on the floor of Congress, that all legislation on the subject should wait until the people of the District themselves demanded the abolition of slavery. That doctrine the Convention believed to be fallacious. "*The people there are not exclusively responsible for the national disgrace, and the criminality attending it.*" The whole people must bear the odium, and may demand abolition.

The third address [1] of 1827 was to the citizens of the United States on the subject of the education of indigent free colored children. It declared that the time had come when the abolitionist and the philanthropist ought to renew and redouble their efforts to remove the "unpleasant contrast" between white and blacks of the same degree of poverty. It claimed that colored children were capable of instruction, and that it was only the means that were wanting.

The addresses of 1828 are the last of which detailed reports exist, and doubtless show, more than do any of the others, just what was the legacy left to the new anti-slavery organization by the old society which had borne the burden and heat of the earlier conflict. The committee felt [2] that in reviewing the work of the societies there was much to cheer and gratify them. The cause of truth and humanity had slowly but steadily advanced, and noth-

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 18, 19.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1828, pp. 28–30; address to the societies.

ing but perseverance was needed to ensure success. They thought they saw a change of opinion in the Northern, Western and Middle States, due to the perseverance of anti-slavery advocates, and there was hope for the South. They wonder how any can feel apathy when they see the horrors of the domestic slave trade almost before their own windows. They denounce slavery in these vigorous terms: "Slavery in whatever point of light considered, is a revolting subject, repugnant to the best feelings of our nature, and inconsistent with the rights and happiness of man." The slaves claim from the people of the United States more than mere freedom, they should be educated to take their place with the whites. The foundation of schools for their education, both literary and industrial, is therefore not only recommended, but urged upon all workers for the slave, and examples are given of the good results obtained from the schools already in existence.

The address of 1828 to the citizens[1] of the United States bears entirely upon the question of abolition in the District of Columbia, the object especially desired by the abolitionists of the period. It claimed that the District was the property of the nation, and drew the conclusion that all citizens of the nation had a right to express an opinion as to its government, and to urge such methods as they deemed best. It then continued in the argument for abolition: "We are well aware that some will contend for the *legality* of Slavery, as tolerated in some parts of the United States, and insist that the question of its abolition should be left to the decision of the people of the District, themselves. When we consider that slaves are, generally, viewed as *property* this kind of reasoning assumes a specious appearance; yet it must be borne in mind, that the inhabitants of the District of Columbia *are not represented in any legislative body;* but that the sovereignty over that particular section of the country is vested in the people of the States. — And when we reflect that the question has long since been settled whether a legislative body possesses the right to enact laws for the prohibition or extinction of slavery — that it has indeed been acted on, by several of the State Legislatures and also by Congress — we think that no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the expediency of the measure in the present case. It is well known that a very large proportion of the citizens of the United

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, pp. 17–20.

States are inimical to the system of Slavery; and it is believed by many intelligent persons who are themselves residents of the District of Columbia, that a great many of the inhabitants thereof are desirous for its total abolition. Viewing the subject in this light we cannot for a moment hesitate in urging your attention to it."

This address refers to a number of memorials on the District of Columbia from friends of abolition in the slave states of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Maryland; and especially to the petition presented at the last session of Congress, signed by over one thousand of the inhabitants of the District. If there had been ground for doubt, those doubts should have been forever set at rest by the fact that so many of the residents of the District had themselves raised their voice in its favor. The writers did not expect to accomplish their work without real opposition, for they declared that the discussion of the question would produce "lively interest" and "violent opposition." "Not only the opponents of emancipation in the South may be expected," they say, "to throw impediments in our way, but the prejudice against the unfortunate and degraded Africans, and the self-interest of many others will also be arrayed against us." They, however, appealed calmly and dispassionately to the good sense of the people of the nation, and to the men in authority especially, to give the matter full and serious consideration, and to weigh well the consequences of tolerating within the District of Columbia a "system that has proved uniformly destructive to every nation that long permitted its continuance." They appeal principally, however, to the benevolent and philanthropic feelings of their readers, against slavery as a great moral and political evil. Not only do they consider the honor of the nation at stake, but the example has a pernicious influence even upon the opposers of slavery, when they come under its influence. As proof they mention the fact that several members of Congress from free states had voted on the pro-slavery side after a period of residence in the capital. "Let, then," they say in closing, "all who are sincerely desirous to wipe from our moral escutcheon this crimson stain, come forward at this interesting crisis, and raise their voice in favor of the great principle of universal liberty, and the inalienable rights of man."

CHAPTER XVII

INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN CONVENTION: MEMORIALS

MEMORIALS were frequently presented to the various legislative bodies of the nation, under the distinct authority of the Convention. The larger number urged abolition in the District of Columbia, but other matters were occasionally treated. A memorial which referred to "the promotion of the interests" of slaves was presented to Congress[1] in 1816. Another on the sale of forfeited negroes (and also on abolition in the District of Columbia) was sent in 1818 to the national Congress;[2] and yet another, received by both houses of Congress in December, 1819, declared against the further admission of slave states into the Union.[3] The rest of the Convention memorials[4] bear upon the abolition of slavery in the District, and in 1821[5] and 1827[6] the prohibition of its further increase in Florida. Memorials for abolition in the District of Columbia were sent in 1818,[7] in 1821,[7] in 1825,[8] in 1826,[9] in 1827,[10] and in 1828.[11]

The text of many of these memorials is extant, and while couched in respectful language, they express in unmistakable terms a detestation of slavery, and a sympathy with radical measures. A few extracts will represent their character.

"MEMORIAL.[12] *To the honourable the Senate and House of Rep-*

[1] Annals of Congress, 14th Congress, 1st Session, 147. Several subjects for memorials were presented at this session, and it is very probable that they were combined in this single memorial. These subjects were: the prevention of smuggling, the restriction of the domestic slave trade, and of kidnapping, and the repeal of state restrictions on emancipation.

[2] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1818, pp. 56–59; Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, 430.

[3] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 24, 736; American State Papers, Misc. Vol. 2, No. 470, p. 547.

[4] So far as distinctly recorded.

[5] Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, 910; Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 46, 47.

[6] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 30, 31.

[7] *Ibid.* for 1821, pp. 41, 42.

[8] *Ibid.* for 1825, pp. 31, 32.

[9] *Ibid.* for 1826, pp. 39, 40.

[10] *Ibid.* for 1827, pp. 29, 30.

[11] *Ibid.* for 1828, pp. 33, 34.

[12] *Ibid.* for 1821, pp. 41, 42.

resentatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, The Memorial of the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race, *Respectfully sheweth,*

"That in the pursuit of the object of their association, your memorialists feel it their duty to call your attention to the territory over which Congress holds exclusive legislation. The patriot, the philosopher and the statesman, look to this spot, where the legislative authority of the Republic has an uncontrolled operation, for that perfect system of laws, which shall at once develope the wisdom of the government, and display the justice and benevolence of its policy.

"Is it not an incongruous exhibition to ourselves as well as to foreigners who may visit the seat of the government of the nation, whose distinguishing characteristic is its devotion to freedom, whose constitution proclaims that all men are born equally free, to behold, on the one hand, the representatives of the people, asserting, with impassioned eloquence, the unalienable rights of man; and, on the other, to see our fellow men, children of the same Almighty Father, heirs, like ourselves of immortality, doomed, for a difference of complexion, themselves and their posterity, to hopeless bondage?

"Deeply impressed with this sentiment, your memorialists do earnestly, but respectfully, request your honourable body to take into your serious consideration the situation of Slavery in the District of Columbia; to devise a plan for its gradual but certain abolition, within the limits of your exclusive legislation; and to provide that all children born of slaves, after a determinate period, shall be free."

The memorial[1] of 1825, to the State Legislatures, speaks of the fact that the existence of slavery in the District had "long been a source of deep regret to a large portion of the citizens of the United States, as well as to the friends of human rights and liberty throughout the world." The memorialists are convinced that "a strong and simultaneous effort" by all interested in its abolition would "imperiously engage the attention of Congress," especially if such effort were sanctioned by the State Legislatures. Therefore the Convention appeals to the Legislatures of the several

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1825, pp. 31, 32.

states to do what is in their power to bring the matter vigorously before Congress. A strong plea is based upon the conviction that every state shares in the opprobrium, however abhorring the guilt. "We entreat you, therefore, by your regard for justice and the rights of man — by your religion, and the welfare of our common country — by your respect for yourselves, and for the honour of your constituents, not to suffer the present session to elapse, without a recorded vote, which shall be *your* witness to posterity that, if the exclusive territory of the national government remains to be polluted by the footsteps of a slave, it is because *your* exertions in the cause of liberty have been unavailing."

The memorial[1] presented to Congress in 1826, praying for abolition in the District of Columbia, is very similar to that of 1821, yet perhaps a shade stronger in some at least of its expressions. In place of mentioning the incongruity of slavery and freedom, and giving utterance to somewhat sentimental phrases about the "children of the same Almighty Father . . . doomed . . . to hopeless bondage," they say that after a half-century's existence as a free nation they still behold, even in the national capital, "an odious system of oppression — they find the *natural repository of Freedom, a depot for Slaves*." Other nations were making rapid progress toward the extirpation of negro slavery from the earth, and the United States should not be the last to coöperate in this glorious cause. "We entreat you, by the respect you owe to yourselves, and to the opinions of mankind — by the honor of our common country — and finally by all that is held dear to the statesman, the patriot and the christian, to wipe away this foul reproach from the Nation." The method proposed was the same in both instances: gradual abolition by the emancipation of the *post nati*.

The memorial[2] on the same subject in 1827 has a stirring close. "We respectfully submit that the honor of our common country, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind, and the strong injunctions of Christianity, alike call for your interference upon this momentous subject."

The memorial[3] presented in 1828 differs in some important particulars from its predecessors. "*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled.* — the

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1826, pp. 39, 40.
[2] *Ibid.* for 1827, pp. 29, 30.
[3] *Ibid.* for 1828, pp. 33, 34.

Memorial of the American Convention, etc., RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS, That your memorialists being citizens of this free republic and feeling in a high degree thankful for the favours and protection of its benign government, are solicitous, in common with all the advocates of true liberty, that its benefits should be extended to the whole human family — that all mankind might be permitted to enjoy peaceably, the full fruition of natural rights, and the great blessings of heaven, while here on earth, the right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Your memorialists, without presuming to question the dignity, superior wisdom, and qualifications of your honourable body, would ask leave most respectfully to urge, as a sentiment, every day gaining a wider spread, and a deeper root, in the best feelings of freemen, that slavery is alike derogatory to the present enlightened condition of man, and a solecism in the institutions of our country; without in any degree, wishing to appeal to the prejudices, either sectarian or geographical, of any portion of your honourable body, your memorialists cannot consent to withhold themselves from the influence of the irresistible current, manifest in the march of mind, towards perfection, and are therefore free to acknowledge that they cannot, as consistent Republicans, omit to raise their voices, in a respectful petition to their government in behalf of the sufferings, the privations, and the unmerited degradation of their fellow-men, — the colored people of America."

After a few words in regard to the rights and privileges of the separate states, the memorial continues: "With these preliminary remarks your memorialists will ask your paternal and special attention to the subject of *Slavery in the District of Columbia*." The usual assertion is repeated of the right of Congress to legislate for the District, even on such subjects as this. The government of the District should be conducted in the manner that the majority of the people demand, and now "the clearly expressed public opinion is against the continuance of slavery — and by every rule of right, slavery should cease, as soon as practicable, within the national domain. Under a full conviction of the truth of this doctrine, and the justice of their cause, your memorialists ask of your honorable body, the immediate enactment of such laws as will ensure the abolition of slavery within the District of Columbia, at the earliest period that may be deemed safe and expedient, accord-

ing to the wisdom of Congress. They ask this, conscientiously believing that this is the sentiment and expectation of the nation, and believing that the example will be gradually followed by many of the Southern States, as the evils, impolicy and injustice of slavery are more and more developed."

The three main fields for the exercise of national authority over slavery were the slave trade, the District of Columbia, and the territories. The Convention saw clearly the fighting material in each of these questions. Of the two memorials on the prohibition of slavery in the newly acquired territory of Florida, the first, sent to Congress[1] in 1821, is introduced by these words: "The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race, being deeply impressed with the magnitude of the evil of involuntary servitude, beg leave to call the attention of Congress to the devising of such means as may be practicable for preventing its extension." It expresses a hope that the United States will follow the example of the South American Republics in this matter, thus hastening the period when our country will no longer furnish an exemplication of the truth that those who are most zealous in asserting political and religious liberty for themselves are too prone to trample on the claims of others to these blessings.

The memorialists considered the evils of slavery so uniformly admitted that it was not worth while to discuss them in the memorial; the only need was to call attention to the especially favorable occasion for "circumscribing these evils and discountenancing this injustice," which they believed to be offered to Congress in the power and opportunity of legislating for Florida. They cite, as arguments for the wisdom of their demand, the action of the first Congress in prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory, and the fact that the previous Congress had restricted slavery north of Missouri, thus proving that Congress had the right to make such restrictions. "Such being the case, we beseech you, by your duty to your fellow-creatures and to posterity, and by your duty to that Almighty Being who controls the destinies of nations, to strive to mitigate and limit an evil, so universally acknowledged and deplored." They then ask for a law prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into Florida. While they think a sufficient number of

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, pp. 46–48.

good arguments for such a law have already been given, they bring forward a few more, especially applicable to the territory in question. They declare that the vacant lands of the new states and territories have always been looked upon as the common property of the people of the nation, and therefore as open to settlement to all, from whatever section they might come. "Introduction of many slaves into a territory, will totally prevent the settlement of free labourers within it. All the States adapted to the cultivation of the valuable staples, cotton, sugar and tobacco, having been hitherto open to the migration of slaves, it appears but equitable now to reserve a district for the free labourer to occupy in the culture of these articles." They feel it only just that the citizens of the free states should have a chance at the new lands and the most lucrative business without the surrender of their principles.

The memorial [1] on Florida in 1827 calls the time an opportunity to display and enforce the principles of liberty without encroaching upon private rights, or state sovereignty. After a few words of eulogy of the United States as a nation, mention is made of the one cause of reproach by their enemies, the existence of slavery in their midst. Why, it asks, is slavery allowed among a free people? The best answer, in the opinion of the writers, is that the founders of our nation thought, at its beginning, that emancipation would be dangerous, in the then existing state of the South. They declare that the slaveholders of that period would gladly have exchanged their slaves for other property. They mention the numerous efforts of the societies to diminish the quantity of the evil, averring that, conscious of the limited power of Congress, they have presented no petitions for action outside the constitutional power of that body. Of late the question of the acquisition of Florida gives a chance for trial whether a southern latitude necessarily requires the establishment of domestic slavery, or whether the district in question would not be better off with free labor. It was an unsettled question, and this time would be a favorable one for forever settling it. Another consideration presented itself; the long, unsettled coast of Florida, and its nearness to the West Indies, made evasions of the slave trade laws extremely easy. If the country were settled by free yeomanry, it would be a strong protection against slave smugglers. "Our most respectful

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1827, pp. 30, 31.

request is that Congress will be pleased to prohibit, by law, the further introduction of slaves into the Territory of Florida."

None of the memorials drawn up by the American Convention seemed to produce any effect upon the legislation of Congress, or even upon the attitude of any individual member. Many of them were not presented, and the others were simply referred to some committee, and there buried.

The influence of the American Convention upon the public is hard to estimate; some authors look on it as a minor factor, if a factor at all in the anti-slavery history of our country. Sometimes it is sneered at, as a mere "convention," a meeting of delegates to talk but not to do. From the earliest period to the present day, a feature of our national life is the convention, where representatives of various bodies meet as accredited delegates, to consult, debate, and perhaps to decide points of the greatest importance to the nation. One author, in speaking of the last meeting of the American Convention, said that the delegate system was dead.[1] That is not true. Though "The American Convention of delegates from Abolition Societies" had ceased to meet, its principles and methods lived on in the new society, which in a great degree adopted the delegate system, and often called its meetings conventions. The change was not so much one of leaders or the organization of an opposition society, as a change of policy. Many of the leaders in the earlier period worked no less vigorously in the later and some became as prominent under the new régime as they had been under the old.

The American Convention has many points of resemblance with the Confederation, and its successor, the American Anti-slavery Society, with the United States under the Constitution. The later society had many branches and auxiliaries, only partially independent. Its executive committee, or the representatives in its annual meetings, like Congress, could decide upon plans of work, levy assessments to carry them out, and collect the money due. The earlier society had no central organization other than the Congress, or Convention, save, perhaps, the Acting Committee, which was supposed in the intervals of the Convention to work along the lines laid out for it at the meetings. It was a confederation of many independent societies, with differing constitutions and

[1] William Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 411.

often differing aims. It could and did make plans and recommend them to the societies, and announce the proportionate sum needed from each in order to carry them out. But it had no power to force compliance, in any sense of the term, and its directors often complained of an empty treasury.

Before 1808 the leadership of the Convention was strong, and the earlier meetings especially were enthusiastic and well attended. The work planned by the Convention was vigorously carried out by the societies, which acted largely as agents in the different states. Later, however, its addresses to the societies lost what little authority they had, and became mere recommendations. It also became more difficult to raise the money necessary for the general work. Mr. Birney says that the "primacy" of the American Convention was not acknowledged by the societies formed between 1820 and 1830. This is certainly true, but rather misleading. So far as can be found in the reports of the Convention for 1809 to 1829 inclusive, which include the addresses from all the societies represented, and often from many others, that primacy was not at any time acknowledged by any society whatever, nor claimed by the Convention. It pretended only to the position of an advisory council, and as such its pretensions were acknowledged by all societies, later as well as earlier. If it in any sense assumed the first position, it was only because it was open to delegates from all societies, and was composed of the most prominent members of each. For nearly the whole period after 1809 the Convention served principally as a meeting place for those most interested in the cause, where, as in our modern religious conventions, they might discuss plans for work, and receive encouragement and an access of enthusiasm; but whose acts were only binding upon the individual societies so far as they decided to make the action of their delegate their own. Still it served a good end during its existence, especially as it held the societies together during the transition period, before the introduction of the more centralized methods of work. The addresses sent out served the purpose of keeping alive in the minds of the people the fact that there was an evil which it was their duty to combat and that there was a society through which they could work. It scattered anti-slavery literature broadcast over the country, and rendered it possible for every one to possess ample knowledge of the needs of the cause, and of what was being done by the leaders.

The Convention is often criticised as not aggressive, and as too ready to use mild terms and pleasant phrases, rather than to set itself decidedly on the side of truth, whatever the consequences. The quotations already made from the published reports of the Convention show, however, that the members both could and did denounce slavery as an unmitigated evil; and possibly more fiery words came from many of the delegates, in the debates of the Convention, which have not been preserved to us. The actual reports of the Convention, intended as they were for circulation among abolitionists and slaveholders alike, are rather conciliatory and persuasive than fiery and aggressive. But a reading of the discussion of the various plans of emancipation shows that they had a clear judgment as to how far and in what direction they could go without arousing the opposition of the slavocracy. They judged accurately what measures might be accepted by the different states, and considered it the part of wisdom to work in those directions. They did not, like the abolitionists of the later period, batter at any wall which they especially wished to attack, no matter if it happened to be the most strongly guarded. They preferred to effect an opening into the citadel wherever they could, hoping that when entrance was once made, they might, through hard fighting, reach their goal. It does not seem just to accuse these men of lukewarmness or half-heartedness.

There are, in fact, two sides to the argument on the method of abolition. It is a question whether the slower, more circuitous route, if persevered in, might not have resulted in as much good to the slaves and the nation at large as the vehement battering at the defences. It is an indisputable fact that after thirty years of aggressive fighting, with the war cry of "immediate and unconditional emancipation" resounding continually in the ears of the slaveholders, the slave states were in 1860 no nearer to freedom; while the area devoted to slavery was decidedly increased, and sectional jealousy grew instead of waning. And at last slavery was abolished, not by the concerted action of all the people of the states, or even of the majority, but first as an arbitrary war measure, and then by the vote of a Congress representing none of the radical slavocracy and accepted by them only because in no other way could they regain their place in the Union.

Forty years have passed since the struggle, and already the grave

question is making itself heard in some parts of the land, whether the wholesale freeing of the slaves, with no better provision for their education and uplifting, was not a mistake; and whether the South is not, in her new laws, evading the Fifteenth Amendment, forced upon her in the days of her weakness. There is no question as to the wisdom of the abolition; few, even of the most violent Southerners, would willingly reëstablish slavery; but the negro problem is one which will tax the wisdom of our legislators for many years to come. If it had been possible to reach the end by education and persuasion, without the bloody war and humiliating conditions, some, at least, of its difficulties would have been eliminated. The census tables give some countenance to the claim that many of the states were, in 1830, approaching freedom. Whether they would ever have reached it without the war is a question which can never be satisfactorily settled.

The real influence of the American Convention during this struggle was, it seems just to say, in holding the ground already won till the new recruits should be in the field, and in bringing forward men who were to take their places among these new fighters, some to become their leaders.

CHAPTER XVIII

MOVEMENT OF SLAVES, AND COLONIZATION

The whole slavery question was much affected by the steady growth of the negro population, through natural increase and through importations, despite slight diminutions through escapes and through the removal of the free blacks. To understand the purposes of the anti-slavery people we must understand somewhat of the slave trade, foreign and domestic, of fugitive slaves, and of colonization. The African slave trade presented a very different aspect to the anti-slavery workers after 1808. It was illegal, yet desired by many citizens of the North as well as of the South. Accordingly, smuggling was frequent and convictions few. The American Convention of 1812 published a list of thirteen slavers brought before the English admiralty courts at Tortola, Sierra Leone, the Bahamas and London, between April, 1810, and May, 1811. Although the papers of these vessels were Spanish, Americans were found on board as officers, supercargoes, or members of the crew, and from other circumstances it seemed as if the vessels belonged to the Americans. The trade was opposed to the moral sentiment of many Northerners, and to many in the Border states, and it was not hard to get from Congress several amendatory provisions. Thus in 1818 the burden of proof was thrown on the defendant; the President was authorized in 1819 to station vessels on the coast of Africa to intercept the slavers; in 1820 the slave trade was declared to be piracy; and in 1824 a treaty was negotiated with Great Britain for a joint suppression of the traffic.

The Legislatures of several Southern states passed severe laws in 1816–1817 against the introduction of slaves from any [1] foreign ports. The slave trade was denounced publicly by newspapers of Baltimore [2] in 1821; and memorials from the people of many different states were received [3] by Congress in 1822. Nothing was

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 11. 399.

[2] *Ibid.* 20. 323; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 5.

[3] These were from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, Jan. 21, 1822 (Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, 747); from Virginia, Jan. 29 (*Ibid.* 824); from the

done, although the question was discussed a few times.[1] It was one thing to declare the slave trade piracy, and another to secure the conviction and punishment of a slave trader. One such was pardoned by President Monroe in 1822, and the inference drawn by Niles is that the President would not be likely to execute the more severe law that had just been passed.[2]

The domestic slave trade was an evil the extent of which was apparently not anticipated by those who prohibited the African slave trade, leaving that in American-born negroes to continue unchecked. It was a constantly growing evil, beginning with the comparatively innocent buying and selling of slaves by the individual owners to satisfy their individual needs or desires. By degrees, as the importance of slavery increased in the South, the trade increased; men took up slave trading as a business, and slaveowners in the Border states began to breed slaves for the Southern markets. The domestic slave trade was never illegal, but for two reasons it was often opposed: first, because of the cruelty too often accompanying it; and second, the conviction that without its prohibition slavery would never be abolished. It was the first of these reasons which made such men as John Randolph denounce[3] it as "an infamous traffic"; and converted Lundy into an abolitionist.[4] The slave markets at the South were often denounced; Birney tried to abolish them by law.[5] Neither slave markets nor slave auctions were approved by the best citizens,[6] and such advertisements were often excluded from even Southern newspapers, because against the sentiment of both the editor and the public.[7] As early as 1821 a strong denunciation of both the domestic and the foreign trade appeared in the Baltimore Chronicle.[8] The memorial of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia, presented in 1828, describes the horrors of the internal slave trade in the District, and gives that as a great reason for abolition.[9] It

American Colonization Society, Feb. 6 (*Ibid.* 922); from North Carolina, Feb. 21 (*Ibid.* 1113); and from the inhabitants of New York, Feb. 28 (*Ibid.* 1150).

[1] See the Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 1064; 17th Congress, 1st Session, 1535; 17th Congress, 2nd Session, 332; 18th Congress, 1st Session, 2397, 3001; Register of Debates, 18th Congress, 2nd Session, App. 33, 73.

[2] Niles' Weekly Register, 22. 114.

[3] Annals of Congress, 14th Congress, 1st Session, 1115; see above, p. 21.

[4] Earl: "Life of Lundy," pp. 14, 15.

[5] See above, p. 20.

[6] Basil Hall: "Travels in North America," 3. 34–41; see above, p. 38.

[7] Niles' Weekly Register, 30. 323.

[8] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 5.

[9] Pamphlet copy.

was even proposed in 1823 or 1824, in the Presbyterian General Assembly, to deny the communion to slave traders,[1] and in 1829 the Chillicothe Presbytery actually passed such a recommendation.[2]

While the larger number of the state non-importation laws cannot be proved to refer to importation from other states, as well as from Africa, yet some seem to include both, while others definitely mention the prohibition of the interstate trade.[3]

The absolute and immediate prohibition of the interstate slave trade, at least, is usually found among the provisions of the plans for gradual emancipation during this period. Lundy advocated [4] it in his plan printed in 1821; another, in 1825, primarily for North Carolina, prohibited the importation of slaves from any place whatever;[5] and a part of that formulated in North Carolina by Swaim in 1830 was a similar provision.[6] Another plan in 1821 recommended its abolition after ten or twenty years.[7]

Opposition to the domestic slave trade was a regular part of the work of the anti-slavery societies. The Anti-slavery Tract Society denounced[8] it in 1828; and the Pennsylvania Abolition Society in 1825 and 1827 remonstrated against it very strongly, placing it in the same class as the foreign slave trade, which no one openly defended.[9] There were also memorials from the societies against the domestic slave trade, usually including it with the foreign trade. The Tennessee Manumission Society sent such a memorial[10] in 1823; a committee was appointed by the Maryland Abolition Society in 1825, and again in 1827, to draft memorials on this subject;[11] and the North Carolina Manumission Society advocated in 1826 a law in that State to prevent either exportation or importation of slaves.[12]

The beginning of the real opposition to the trade in the American Convention was in 1821, although the matter was mentioned in 1816; and the plan of emancipation adopted in 1821 included

1 Candler: "A Summary View of America," p. 323; see above, p. 98.
2 Pamphlet copy of address, p. 10; see above, p. 100.
3 See above, pp. 50, 53.
4 See above, p. 26.
5 The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 187; see above, p. 40.
6 See above, pp. 123, 124.
7 The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 43; see above, p. 79.
8 Minutes of the American Convention, for 1828, pp. 44–52; see above, p. 136.
9 *Ibid.* for 1825, p. 11; for 1827, p. 38; see above, pp. 144, 145.
10 Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 2nd Session, 642; see above, p. 132.
11 The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 20; 7. 13; see above, p. 135.
12 See above, p. 138.

the prohibition of the domestic slave trade.[1] In that year, and also in 1823 and 1825, a standing committee was appointed to consider both the foreign and the domestic trade.[2] In 1828 it was made much more prominent by the appointment of a special committee to consider it, no longer combining it with either the foreign slave trade or kidnapping.[3]

The report of the committee in 1828 was interesting.[4] The principal slave markets were the territories of Florida and Arkansas, and the states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana; while the breeding states were Delaware, Maryland, the District of Columbia, parts of Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. The principal evils growing out of the trade they considered to be the kidnapping and decoying away of free colored persons, and the selling of time-servants into irredeemable slavery. The business of the slave trader was perfectly open and freely advertised, the number transported by sea from Baltimore by one trader alone amounting to several hundreds per annum.

Notwithstanding all the opposition, however, nothing was accomplished, and the domestic slave trade continued to grow unchecked, save by the ordinary laws of supply and demand, until the final abolition of slavery in 1863.

The question of the losses of slaves through escapes to free states or to foreign countries has been treated in two able monographs, and it is established that the Underground Railroad, whose work for the fugitive slaves was so great and so important in later times, made a beginning even before the year 1808, perhaps as early [5] as 1786; while stations in Ohio were definitely noticed as early as 1816 or 1817. The question of escapes to Canada was referred to in the debates in Congress in January, 1821, and a resolution was attempted, advising an arrangement with Great Britain for their return.[6] In the negotiations of 1826–1828 the subject was mentioned, but no provision was made for the return of the fugitives.

Canada and Mexico were both too distant to offer refuge to

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 53; see above, p. 159.

[2] *Ibid.* for 1821, pp. 22, 23, 30; for 1823, p. 43; for 1825, p. 28; for 1826, pp. 7, 42; see above, pp. 159, 160, 162, 163.

[3] *Ibid.* for 1828, p. 14; see above, p. 159.

[4] *Ibid.* for 1828, pp. 22–24.

[5] Siebert: "Light on the Underground Railroad," in the American Historical Review for April, 1896.

[6] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 941.

many slaves, and since slavery still existed in some degree in the most of the Northern states up to 1830, the fugitive slave question was not the *ex-parte* matter that it became later, and it entered very little into the anti-slavery agitation.

The only question of slave population which took hold of the popular mind was the project of removing free negroes, or all classes of negroes, out of the borders of the United States altogether. The question aroused from 1808 to 1831 more debate than any other phase of the anti-slavery contest. Was colonization anti-slavery in its aim? Was it a scheme of the pro-slavery advocates, meant to throw dust in the eyes of the great mass of the anti-slavery supporters, and lead them away from really effective work against the system? If anti-slavery in aim, was it able to accomplish the work it wished to do? These questions and many others have often been asked since the foundation of the American Colonization Society in 1816; and the question is still unsettled. In the period of active partizanship the evidence was little definite, but it is worth while to examine briefly the opinions of those who lived during the period which is under discussion.

Among the most ardent advocates of colonization were many active anti-slavery workers, and many of the more moderate friends of anti-slavery. The plan was applauded by Jefferson [1] in 1811, who considered it "the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population; most advantageous for themselves as well as for us"; and by Edward Coles, the vigorous opposer of slavery in Illinois. It was recommended [2] by the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1818, in an address to the churches denouncing slavery. The Methodists of the Cambridge Circuit, Maryland, cordially approved of the scheme, and expressed in 1826 their approbation in the same address in which they denounced slaveholding Christians.[3] William Maxwell, who published essays against slavery in the Norfolk (Va.) Herald, in 1826, advocated the Colonization Society as a means of removing the evil.[4] Paxton, whose letters against slavery aroused such opposition that he himself was made to suffer for them, approved of the

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 12. 122.

[2] Niles' Weekly Register, 16. supplement, p. 153; see S. J. May: "Some Recollections of our Anti-Slavery Conflict," p. 11.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 252.

[4] *Ibid.* 5. 369.

plan, and gave practical proof of it in the colonizing of his own slaves.[1] Gerrit Smith said[2] in January, 1831: "The Colonization Society may exert an important influence on the question of slavery — an influence which may yet compass the abolition of slavery in our land." A writer in the Kentucky Western Luminary, in 1830, after declaring that something must be done quickly to relieve that state from her burden of slaves, advises gradual emancipation by law, and exportation to Liberia.[3] Two other writers, "Marcus" in 1819, and a writer in the Russelville (Ky.) Messenger in 1827, considered the aim of the society to be the good of the blacks, but claimed that it was entirely inadequate to produce the good effects desired.[4]

Some strong pro-slavery men also considered this society abolitionist in its tendencies. "Brutus," in "The Crisis" (1827), said:[5] "As long as the Colonization Society openly professed to no other object than the removal of free negroes, it had but little support, and was confined in its operations to a few States . . . no *emancipation* was held out, and the abolitionists were of course indifferent to its success," then the leading members, "to make their scheme more palatable," avowed its great object to be emancipation, and zeal in its favor increased. The "Southern Review" in 1828, in discussing the report of the American Colonization Society for 1827, said[6] that the members regarded slavery as an enormous evil, and were anxious to keep alive excitement on the subject; that the tendency of the society was to cause ultimate emancipation. An article by "Caius Gracchus" in the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer for October 11, 1825, opposed the Colonization Society on the ground that it was abolitionist.[7] Senator Hayne of South Carolina, in discussing in Congress, in 1827, the making of an appropriation for the American Colonization Society, said:[8] "Are not the members and agents of this Society everywhere (even while disclaiming all such intentions) making proclamations that the end of their scheme is universal emancipation? . . . Does not every

[1] Paxton: "Letters on Slavery," pp. 2–4.
[2] Report of the American Colonization Society for 1831, p. xii.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 11. 63.
[4] *Ibid.* 6. 194; Pamphlet by "Marcus," pp. 13, 14.
[5] "Brutus: The Crisis," p. 137.
[6] Southern Review, Charleston, S. C. 1. 226.
[7] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 96.
[8] Register of Debates, 19th Congress, 2nd Session, 328.

Southern man know that, wherever the Colonization Society has invaded our country, a spirit of hostility to our institutions has immediately sprung up?"

These expressions, from men of every shade of opinion on slavery, may be matched by equally strong quotations on the other side. The committee of the American Convention in 1818 reported that the Colonization Society did not appear to further the ends the Convention had in view, and recommended that it have nothing to do with it.[1] At later meetings of the Convention the matter was occasionally brought up, but no real support was ever given to the society. The American Convention declared that the investigation which their committee had made of the question had settled the matter, so far as they were concerned. Little was ever said in those meetings in favor of compulsory colonization; but the question of voluntary emigration to Hayti was never settled. Meetings in Boston in 1822 and Ohio in 1826, discussed the relation of the Colonization Society to anti-slavery, with no distinct decision.[2] Webster, when appointed in 1822 to draft a constitution for a Massachusetts Colonization Society, announced after a brief period of investigation that he would have nothing to do with it, because it was merely a scheme to get rid of the free blacks.[3]

Two English travelers, of especial acuteness of perception, agreed from their observations that colonization was not an anti-slavery measure, and one even called it pro-slavery.[4] Daniel Raymond of Baltimore also argued against it.[5] A free-state man, writing in the Christian Examiner of 1832, said of the Colonization Society:[6] "It does not oppose, but rather encourages the curse and scandal of our country: viz. negro slavery. . . . It encourages the domestic slave trade. . . . It exercises a withering influence on the free blacks; vilifying them on all occasions, and repressing their energies; thereby fostering that unholy prejudice on the part of the whites which has made the free colored people a degraded caste. . . . It induces the North and the South

[1] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1818, pp. 30, 38, 47–54, 65–68.

[2] Niles' Weekly Register, 23. 39; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 62.

[3] Pamphlet, "Hancock"; Jay: "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," p. 584; Bowen: "Arthur and Lewis Tappan," p. 3. It is said, however, (Liberty Almanac, 1851, p. 21), that he turned completely round in 1851.

[4] Blane "Travels through the United States and Canada," pp. 227, 228; Candler "A Summary View of America," pp. 305, 306, 317.

[5] Raymond: "The Missouri Question," pp. 5–8.

[6] The Christian Examiner, 14. 204–220.

to contribute to its funds by arguments diametrically opposed to each other." The article then gives many of these arguments.

The free colored people of Philadelphia were unanimously opposed to the scheme. In three successive years they held meetings denouncing it and entreating the workers for the slave not to countenance it in any way. In 1817 over three thousand of them assembled and unanimously answered in the negative the question "Are you willing to accept its offers?" and with "painful solicitude and sorrowing regret" addressed the "humane and benevolent inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia," beseeching their disapprobation of the scheme of the American Colonization Society. "Let not a purpose," they said, "be assisted which will stay the cause of the entire abolition of slavery in the United States and which may defeat it altogether; which proffers to those who do not ask for them, *benefits*, but which they consider *injuries*, and which must insure to the multitudes whose prayers can only reach you through us, *misery, sufferings and perpetual slavery*." [1]

When we find such widely contradictory opinions from those who should know something of the aims and tendencies of the colonization scheme, it seems wise to turn directly to the statements of the society itself, its constitution, reports and addresses; and to the words of its most prominent members. Even here we find the same uncertainty, the same contradictions. Bushrod Washington, in his first address [2] as President, at the annual meeting in 1818, said: "And should it lead, as we may fairly hope it will, to the slow but gradual abolition of slavery, it will wipe from our political institutions the only blot which stains them; and in palliation of which, we shall not be at liberty to plead the excuse of moral necessity, until we shall have honestly exerted all the means which we possess for its extinction." Three years later Bushrod Washington sold a large number of slaves from Mount Vernon. The comments of the press are interesting; many anti-slavery men see in his action a conclusive proof of the lack of anti-slavery sentiment in the society; some pro-slavery men find comfort in it for the same reason; while many members of the American Coloni-

[1] This was signed by James Forten as President, and Russell Parrott as Secretary (see above, p. 92; Lewis Tappan: "Life of Arthur Tappan," pp. 135, 136; Minutes of the American Convention, for 1818, App. i iv; Needles: "History of the Pennsylvania Society for the . . . Abolition of Slavery," p. 66). Another meeting on November 16, 1819, also passed resolutions protesting against the plan (Niles' Weekly Register 17. 201).

[2] First Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 2.

zation Society, among them Bushrod Washington himself, see nothing inconsistent in their action.[1]

Mercer of Virginia, in the first annual meeting of the society in 1818, professed to apply its benefits to slave as well as free.[2] "The laws of Virginia," he said, "now discourage, and very wisely, perhaps, the emancipation of slaves. But the very policy on which they are founded will afford every facility for emancipation, when the colonization of the slave will be the consequence of his liberation." Henry Clay, in the same meeting,[3] and General Harper, in a letter [4] found in the same report, expressed the opinion that the society would promote emancipation. In 1819 the society suggested [5] that if the colony should prosper, the results, including the reduction of the number of slaves in America, no human sagacity could either foresee or compute; and the address adopted at Baltimore on October 17, 1827, declares: "It is by this means that the American Colonization Society hope to relieve their country from the baneful institution of slavery, our burden and dishonor." [6] A sermon [7] by John H. Kennedy for the Pennsylvania Colonization Society in Philadelphia, in 1828, after a description of the Colonization Society, said: "Finally, the Society will promote emancipation and will effect, as we believe finally, the extinction of Domestic Slavery." Custis, a prominent member, said [8] in 1821: "We ardently pray to be delivered from the evil of slavery. . . . I trust that this noble charity has at length opened the way by which we may be saved from our heaviest calamity."

The constitution of the society, however, sets forth no interest in abolition, and some at least of the managers disclaimed the idea of abolition in connection with it. "A Friend to Colonization," writing in 1821, said that with the rights and opinions of persons on the subject of slavery it had nothing to do whatever.[9] It had no object in common with the abolition societies of the North, which sought to emancipate anywhere, no matter what conditions it

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 21. 1, 39, 70; Blane: "An Excursion through the United States," p. 227; etc.

[2] First Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 8. [3] *Ibid.* p. 9.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 21. Harper and Mercer expressed very similar sentiments also in 1824; (Seventh Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, pp. 7, 8, 12, 13; "Brutus: The Crisis," p. 123).

[5] Report of the American Colonization Society, for 1819, p. 17. See also p. 8, however.

[6] Pamphlet report of the meeting (signed copy), p. 10.

[7] Pamphlet copy of Kennedy's sermon, p. 9.

[8] Report of the American Colonization Society, for 1831, p. xxi.

[9] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 73. No name is given.

would bring about. "These societies, proclaiming principles injurious to the slaves themselves, and dangerous to the whites, are yet the bitterest enemy of a society whose aim is simple, safe, and *really* humane, and whose prosperity is the only rational ground of hope of getting rid of the evils and sins of slavery consistently with the true interest of the blacks. The real friends of the Colonization Society think that the success of their scheme will have an inevitable tendency to effect a gradual emancipation, as the convenience, the interest and the safety of our country shall permit." In 1820 the managers said [1] expressly: "They do *not*, therefore, *intend* and *they have not the inclination*, if they possessed the power, to *constrain* the departure of any freeman of color, from America, or to *coerce any proprietor to emancipate his slaves*." The Society in its ninth annual meeting, in January, 1826, distinctly disclaimed [2] both the design "of interfering, on the one hand, with the legal rights and obligations of slavery, and on the other, of perpetuating its existence within the limits of the country." The debate on this subject in the Virginia Legislature in February of this year only touched on the colonization of the free blacks.[3]

In the meeting preliminary to the formation of the society, in 1816, these words are used: [4] "It is scarcely necessary to add that all connection of this proposition with the emancipation of slaves, present or future, is explicitly disclaimed. No vested rights of any party are proposed to be in the least affected by it, unless beneficially." Gerrit Smith, in January, 1831, in a speech already quoted,[5] said further: "Whilst the society protests that it has no designs on the right of the master in his slave — or the property in his slave, which the laws guarantee to him — it does nevertheless admit, and joyfully admit, that the successful prosecution of the objects of the Society must produce moral influences and moral changes leading to the voluntary emancipation of the slave, not only in our country, but throughout the world." Benham, in the same year, stated [6] the equivocal position of the society; some people thought it abolitionist, others thought it the idea of

[1] Third Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 22. Italics as in the original.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 163; Niles' Weekly Register, 29. 329; Report of meeting, p. 10.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 5. 209.

[4] Niles' Weekly Register, 11. 296.

[5] Report of the American Colonization Society, for 1831, p. xii.

[6] *Ibid.* p. xxiii; see also report for 1819, p. 8.

the slaveholders, and it was therefore combated by both. Jay quoted many statements of various dates to prove that it was not anti-slavery.[1] The Committee of the national House of Representatives to whom the subject of colonization was referred, after careful consideration, reported favorably to the House on April 18, 1818. They stated in this report [2] that they would not favor the plan if it sought to impair in the slightest degree the rights of private property, or the personal liberty of freemen. But the resolutions of the Legislature of Virginia on the subject, and the various statements and resolutions of the Colonization Society excluded the "remotest apprehension" of this.

John Quincy Adams, in a communication to President Monroe on the subject of colonization, gives his opinion of its equivocal nature.[3] "This project is professed to be formed: 1, without intending to use any compulsion upon the free people of color to make them go; 2, to encourage the emancipation of slaves by their masters; 3, to promote the entire abolition of slavery; and yet, 4, without in the slightest degree affecting what they call a certain species of property — that is, the property in slaves. There are men of all sorts and descriptions concerned in this Colonization Society: some exceedingly humane, weakminded men, who have really no other than the professed objects in view, and who honestly believe them both useful and attainable; some, speculators in official profits and honors, which a colonial establishment would of course produce; some, speculators in political popularity, who think to please the abolitionists by their zeal for emancipation, and the slave-holders by the flattering hope of ridding them of the free colored people at the public expense; lastly, some cunning slave-holders, who see that the plan may be carried far enough to produce the effect of raising the market price of their slaves."

This is perhaps the only safe deduction from the conflicting statements, examples of which, merely, have been given. It is most probable that the difference of opinion in regard to the anti-slavery tendencies of the American Colonization Society were radical and widespread. Prominent abolitionists supported it because it seemed to them to promise ultimate abolition; strong pro-slavery

[1] William Jay: "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," pp. 28, 29, 30, 36, 55, 57, 65, 70, 78, 80, 87, 97, 99, 100, 106, 114, 115, etc., etc.
[2] Niles' Weekly Register, 15. supplement, p. 42.
[3] John Quincy Adams: Diary, 4. 292.

men opposed it for the same reason. Other pro-slavery men welcomed it as providing a source of relief from the presence of the free blacks without in any degree threatening their right of property in slaves; while earnest workers for the slaves denounced it for this same reason. The upholders of the scheme who honestly believed in its feasibility, and its anti-slavery tendencies, were not all "weak-minded," as we have seen from the quotations already given. But the majority of the strong anti-slavery men arrayed in its favor were in New England, where the large proportion of the citizens knew nothing from actual experience of the condition of affairs in the South. Few of them had traveled in that region; intercommunication was scanty and deficient, especially in view of the somewhat jealous attitude of the Southerners in many places, and their unwillingness in many instances to discuss the matter thoroughly with Northerners, whom they suspected with some show of reason to have abolition sentiments. It was not strange that these could have an inadequate idea of the labor they had undertaken, and the possible results from it.

The anti-slavery men of the South, and the states immediately bordering upon the slave states, nearly all opposed the scheme as pro-slavery, or doubted it as inefficient. Never, in the palmiest days of the society, were the funds sufficient to export annually a number of negroes equal to one twenty-fifth of the natural increase by births in the same period of time. There were other insurmountable obstacles in the way: the expense of the long journey, the impotence of a colony of such material as they would find willing to go to Africa, and the jealousy of all pro-slavery men if they found any slaves liberated for the purpose of colonization. The spread of a feeling of opposition to slavery was not more likely to be produced by this means than by other methods familiar to those having the good of the slaves at heart.

Colonization, it seems, therefore, was not in itself anti-slavery; it was advocated by some anti-slavery men, but not by those most conversant with the condition of affairs in the slave states, nor by those who took the trouble to make a real investigation for themselves instead of trusting to the recommendations of others.[1] It

[1] The plan was always and uncompromisingly opposed by both Arthur and Lewis Tappan (Lewis Tappan: "Life of Arthur Tappan," p. 135, etc.) and by Wilberforce. Some who vehemently opposed manumission without colonization on the ground of the

was not necessarily anti-slavery in its tendencies, since the removal of the bulk of the free blacks would have made it easier to keep the slaves in complete subjection, and to take from them such incentives to rebellion as they might otherwise find in the presence of freemen of their own color.

corrupt character of the free blacks in America, are among those who argue the most strongly in favor of sending these same free blacks to Africa, on the ground that they will Christianize and civilize that continent. How were these two arguments reconciled? Did their authors try to reconcile them?

CHAPTER XIX

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS OF SLAVERY

Most important in the cause of anti-slavery was the establishment of an area of freedom, first by the action of the northeastern states individually, then by the action of Congress, in the Ordinance of 1787, and then in the Missouri Compromise. In none of these areas of freedom was slavery nominally reëstablished, although in one or two the reëstablishment was attempted, and a somewhat hard-fought battle resulted.

The story of the anti-slavery struggle in Indiana has often been told. The Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in that state in common with the rest of the Northwest Territory. In Ohio there was never a real pro-slavery agitation, and very little holding of slaves contrary to its provisions. Further west virtual slaveholding was more common. In Indiana there were many held as slaves, and many others brought from the South on indentures, or as so-called "apprentices," and free permission to hold them seemed to many of the settlers a boon worth a considerable effort to obtain. Hence a territorial law, passed in 1807 and in force till 1810, provided that owners of slaves desiring to move into the territory might bring their slaves with them and bind them to service by an indenture for whatever time the master and slave should agree upon. If the slave would not consent to be indentured within thirty days after arrival he was not freed, and the owner had sixty days to remove him to a slave state. All slaves under fifteen thus brought in might be held till they were thirty-five or thirty-two, according as they were men or women. All children of indentured servants were considered as bound to the ages of thirty and twenty-eight, respectively.[1] This system, while not nominally a violation of the Ordinance of 1787, was to the bondman practical slavery.

Not content with this restricted form of slavery, some inhabitants of Indiana, especially in the southern part of the territory, felt that

[1] B. A. Hinsdale: "The Old Northwest," p. 353.

their prosperity would be greatly increased if they should be allowed to import laborers who should practically cost nothing in wages, and whose hours of labor might be regulated by the master. Consequently four petitions, chiefly from Knox County, were sent to the Territorial Legislature, asking that that body would pray Congress for a repeal of the anti-slavery clause. Other residents of the territory were as strongly opposed to such repeal, and presented eleven petitions, principally from Dearborn and Clark Counties, against any legal admission of slavery. The Legislature refused to petition Congress for a change, but a number of petitions from the inhabitants of the territory found their way to the national House of Representatives, where, however, they met with no success.[1] In January, 1808, a petition from sundry inhabitants of Dearborn County was read in the House of Representatives. It requested a transference to the state of Ohio, because of an act of the Indiana Territorial Legislature which seemed to them distinctly pro-slavery; probably the indenture act.[2]

The first real political struggle over the question was in the election, in the autumn of 1808, of a delegate to Congress for the term beginning in 1809. During that summer and autumn the Indiana "Log Convention" did its work, the notices of the meetings being given at the log-rollings everywhere in the neighborhood.[3] Nearly the whole population attended; slavery and the "southern aristocracy" were denounced, and the determination expressed to nominate an anti-slavery delegate in opposition to the candidate of their opponents. George Hunt was nominated as delegate, subject to revision by other like conventions. Joseph Holman, a lad of twenty, was appointed to confer with the settlers in other sections. If they had already met, professed the same views as Holman represented, and an acceptable candidate had been appointed, Hunt's name was to be withdrawn in his favor. The result was the nomination and subsequent election of Jonathan Jennings, an anti-slavery man.[4] This was the practical end of the struggle, for Jennings was reëlected [5] in 1810 and 1811; the indenture act was

[1] J. P. Dunn: "Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery," pp. 367–370.
[2] Annals of Congress, 10th Congress, 1st Session, 1331.
[3] The fullest account of this convention is in A. W. Young: "The History of Wayne County, Indiana," pp. 94, 95.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 95; W. H. Smith: "The History of the State of Indiana," 1. 188–189
[5] Smith: "The History of the State of Indiana," 1. 190.

repealed [1] in 1810, and the repeal was confirmed in the Council by the casting vote of its President.

When Indiana was about to come into the Union in 1816, the question was fitfully debated, the constitutional convention apparently considering slavery the most important point before it.[2] The constitution as finally adopted prohibited the further introduction of slaves, but there is a doubt as to the slaves already held. The Bill of Rights declared all men "equally free and independent," while the franchise was not limited to whites. Article VIII prohibited the amendment of the constitution to allow slavery, and Article XI prohibited at least further introduction of slaves and indentures made out of the state. The court decisions assumed [3] that this article intended the entire prohibition of slavery. Nevertheless slaves were still held in Indiana, even as late as 1840; indented negroes were sometimes sold; and a suit for freedom was contested for five years, although at last it succeeded.[4]

The Indiana fugitive slave act of 1824 (declared unconstitutional in 1850) seems to show an anti-slavery spirit. It allowed the claimant to bring the fugitive slave before any justice of the peace for absolute decision; but either party had the right to appeal, and in that case the trial was to be before a jury.[5]

The most characteristic incident in the anti-slavery movement from 1808 to 1831 was the struggle over the admission of Missouri as a slave state. Without going into the details of the contest, the question whether it was a political or a social struggle may be considered. Did those opposing the admission argue against slavery *per se*, or merely against the adding of another slave state to endanger the balance of power, and against the restriction of the rights of the citizens of the free states? It was undoubtedly a political struggle for the balance of power, but the evils of slavery and the argument against slavery *per se* were freely discussed in Congress and by the abolition societies. The address of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, after the passage of the Compromise, expressed [6] satisfaction at the "limits set to the extension of this evil" and the probability that some parts of our country would be

[1] Smith: "The History of the State of Indiana," p. 189; Dunn: "Indiana," p. 405.
[2] Dunn: "Indiana," pp. 426–431.
[3] J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 127; see below, p. 223.
[4] Smith: "History of Indiana," 1. 191; Dunn: "Indiana," p. 434.
[5] J. C. Hurd: "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 129.
[6] Minutes of the American Convention, for 1821, p. 10.

definitely "saved from this scourge of humanity." The Friends' Yearly Meeting sent a memorial expressive of their disapproval of extension, laying little or no stress on the political side of the question.[1]

Memorials and resolutions were adopted by many State Legislatures, many of which denounced slavery as an evil, and based the opposition on moral as well as political grounds.[2] Pennsylvania stated that the measure proposed "to spread the crimes and cruelties of slavery from the banks of the Mississippi to the shores of the Pacific." The resolutions adopted by Vermont were to this effect: 1. slavery is a moral and political evil; 2. Congress has the right to prohibit slavery in new states; 3. the Legislature "views with regret" the attempt to make Missouri a slave state; 4. the Senators from Vermont were instructed to use all legal means against slavery in Missouri. Resolutions passed by the House of Assembly in New York nearly unanimously made no mention of political issues, declaring simply against further extension of slavery as an evil to be deplored.[3]

Other resolutions were sent from mass meetings in the different states.[4] The Hartford resolution declared slavery to be an evil, and repugnant to republicanism. The Boston meeting states that "if the progress of this great evil is ever to be arrested it seems to the undersigned that this is the time." They declared against the increase of slavery, as an evil, as well as detrimental to the rights of the citizens of the free states. The meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania, pronounced the admission of Missouri as a slave

[1] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 739.

[2] Of this number were: Pennsylvania in 1819 (Wm. Darlington: "Desultory Remarks on the Missouri Question," pp. 5, etc., quotations from the American Republican, (a newspaper) of 1819, 1820; "Liberty," quotation from a speech by Wm. B. Reed in the Pennsylvania Legislature); Ohio, 1819 or 1820 (Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 399; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 361); and Vermont in 1820 (Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 78).

[3] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 399; 19. 192; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 311.

[4] These were by New Jersey (Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 189), New York (*Ibid.* 17. 199), Chester County, Pennsylvania (Darlington: "The Missouri Question," p. 4), Boston, Mass. (Pamphlet copy); Niles' Weekly Register 17. 241, Baltimore, Maryland (Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 304), and Hartford, Conn. (American State Papers, Misc. Vol. 2, No. 481, p. 572; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 2457), in 1819; and from Rhode Island (American State Papers, Misc. Vol. 2, No. 479, p. 568; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 2452), and New Haven, Conn. (Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 69), in 1820. The resolution from Chester County, Penn. may have been the same as that presented to the Senate by Mr. Sergeant in December, 1819, as from Philadelphia (Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 241; Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 737). That from Baltimore may not have been truly anti-slavery.

state both impolitic and unjust. Darlington stated that its leaders were neither "Federalists" nor "fanatics." They resolved that all counties should be asked to hold similar meetings and a circular was sent to the representatives of the state in Congress. This does not necessarily imply a denunciation of slavery from the moral standpoint, but the speech of the member of Congress from Chester County, in the House of Representatives, is full of arguments from that point of view, and we are justified in believing that it was not overlooked in the meeting.

The meeting at New York was, perhaps, more productive of results than those already mentioned. Slavery *per se* was denounced, and an "Address to the American People" prepared. It was probably this address which led to the meeting at Newport, Rhode Island, which was held at the State House. The circular letter from New York was read, and resolutions passed denouncing slavery as inconsistent with the genius of our republican institutions; as producing fatal effects on the principles and the morals of men; and its extension as an insurmountable obstacle to the practical stoppage of the slave trade. In these resolutions which were read in the Senate in January, 1820, there is no mention of the right of citizens, the entire argument is against slavery *per se*.

Individuals also published in the various periodicals of the country denunciations of slavery and its extension into Missouri. "A Pennsylvania Democrat" wrote [1] to the American Republican of December 28, 1819, declaring that in his opinion the propagation of slavery in new states was as "abhorrent" as the slave trade, "and equally unworthy of a people professing the principles of liberty." He believed that it would really promote the slave trade. "We love our country," he says, "and it is because of this love, that we raise our voices against the further extension of that deadliest foe to our country's happiness — human slavery." Another letter on January 11, 1820, signed "A Pennsylvanian," declared [2] that no American ever yet dared to vindicate human slavery in the abstract, or to justify the bondage of his fellow-man upon any plea but necessity.

Four pamphlets issued in Connecticut in 1820 are among the most interesting anti-slavery publications in these years. The first

[1] William Darlington: "Desultory Remarks on the Missouri Question," pp. 8–10.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 10.

declares [1] decidedly that slavery is "intrinsically wrong" and that its moral consequences are precisely what might be expected from the violation of the laws of God and of nature. Another [2] is against slavery *per se;* the author shudders at the thought that the question is to be decided by a fallible tribunal. "It is a disgrace to the American name. It is a blot on the human character." "African slavery originates in treachery and violence, bloodshed and murder." He speaks of the dangers of arbitrary power, of the evils of the slave codes, the inconsistency of slavery and republicanism, the dangers arising from a preponderance of the blacks, the degradation of labor, and the moral degradation of slavery. The third,[3] printed at the same place, perhaps by the same author, is no less vigorous. It says: "Those who justify African slavery deny the truth of God, by claiming that he has not made of one blood all the 'sons of men.'" The fourth [4] of these pamphlets purports to be a proclamation from the state of Virginia to the free states. It is decidedly satirical, for while nominally upholding slavery and its increase, it is in reality a strong plea against it. It certainly seems likely to have caused as much ill-feeling as any of the writings of Garrison, provided it was circulated at the South. It begins:

"The High and Mighty, the Burgesses of the Royal State of Virginia, to the people of the non-slave-holding States — A Proclamation. The welfare and happiness of the body politic, depends on the subordination of the inferior members to the head. This is most happily illustrated by the subjection of the slave to his master, in our system of domestic slavery, which places under our absolute and individual controul, in many instances, hundreds of human beings, thereby impressing on our minds, and on the minds of our children, correct ideas of freedom and republican principles. This is manifested by a dignified air, arising from a sense of superiority, and by an unabashed adherence, at all hazards, to whatever may tend to our own gratification and interest. . . . Notwithstanding these and other equally imperative claims, there has appeared in the non-slave-holding States a stubborn spirit, rising

[1] A pamphlet entitled "A Caveat, or considerations *vs.* the Admission of Missouri with Slavery"; see especially, p. 21.

[2] "The Crisis, No. 1," published in 1820 in New Haven, Conn., and distinctly said to have been occasioned by the Missouri agitation.

[3] "The Crisis, No. 2," published at the same place, and by the same author. See especially p. 6.

[4] "Pocahontas; a Proclamation."

up against our reasonable requisitions, and which has been peculiarly manifested on the Missouri bill, involving a question which they presumed to moot, respecting the right of the slave-holding States to extend slavery. This spirit has been engendered no doubt by the chagrin which they felt at seeing our royal state of Virginia, and her subsidiary slave-holding states rising, by this measure, to such political importance, that we shall soon be able to place our foot, and the yoke of our power on the necks of the contumacious. Envious, too, at our superior attainments, unalloyed by bodily exertion, which result from that blessed system, by which we are able to reverse the primitive enunciation, 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread,' and to discard the subsequent injunction, 'If any would not work, neither should he eat.' The declaration that God made of one blood, all the sons of men, must be construed in a qualified sense, and is answered by this inquiry, did God make of one blood the pampered, high-bred, dandy-cut, ladylike Virginian, and the miserable, untaught, score backed, shackle galled African? The threadbare tales, that all men 'are created equal, that they are endued with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, &c.' are well selected topics of defiance, when holding these declarations in one hand, and the sword in the other; but do nature, or liberal-minded individuals, regard such appeals, when urged by wretched suppliants? . . . We do now most strictly and solemnly enjoin all the people of the non-slave-holding States to desist from any attempts, hereafter, to oppose the will or wishes of their rightful lords, the slaveholders and their associates. . . . Then every neck shall bow, and every knee shall bend in token of their submission. The laws prohibiting the importation of slaves shall be repealed. The laws prohibiting the domestic slave trade, and slavery, those birthrights of the South, shall be removed. . . . Our manufacturies, or slave-breeding establishments shall flourish, Slave dealers, kidnappers, and negro drivers shall run to and fro through the land, and shall greatly multiply. . . . When slavery shall thus arrive to its *maximum* of increase, and extent, then, and not till then, shall the lords and people of the slave-holding States arrive to their *maximum* of enjoyment and earthly happiness!

"Given at our imperial city of Richmond, the first year of the crusade for unlimited slavery!"

Mass meetings of Northerners might perhaps reflect the feelings of a few radical abolitionists; and Northern Legislatures might be willing as a body to utter words and pass resolutions much more radical than they would be willing to utter in the presence of strong Southern sympathizers. Individuals, also, might write over a *nom de plume* stronger words than they would like to be held responsible for by the general public. It is true that such words as have already been quoted might not have had much influence upon legislation, and are not in reality a part of the discussion of the question in the only body where such discussions were of importance to the passage of the bill. Better evidence is the language of those members of Congress who were willing to put themselves on record as opposing slavery *per se*, when face to face with its ardent upholders.

The member of Congress from Chester County, Pennsylvania, to whom reference has already been made, declared [1] that the proposition to prohibit slavery in Missouri was merely for the purpose of securing that state from "the dreadful curse of slavery"; that slavery was universally considered a great moral and political evil, and that it was the duty of other states to interfere, because it affected their posterity. Slavery "is a malignant disease upon the body politic," he adds. Taylor of New York called upon the South to exclude slavery from Missouri, because they had often said that it was a sin, and deplored it. If they did not exclude it they were hypocrites.[2] Morrill of New Hampshire called slavery a plague.[3] "It innoculates like contagious disorders," he said, "will you diffuse without limits this destructive evil?" Plumer of New Hampshire spoke [4] of the "foul plague" and "injustice" of slavery. "What is morally wrong can never be politically right" seemed to him an unanswerable argument. "We think of slavery as if it were an evil, merely," he said, "and forget that it is also a crime. . . . Slavery is in itself, by the laws of God and of nature, a moral offence." Later he calls it "this pestiferous institution." Cushman of Maine felt [5] that the institution must "have an effect in some instances injurious to the finer feelings of the heart." "Sir," he declared, "could I even reflect with indifference on such

[1] Darlington: "The Missouri Question," pp. 19–25.
[2] Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, 1174.
[3] *Ibid.* 16th Congress, 1st Session, 148.
[4] *Ibid.* 1411–1440. [5] *Ibid.* 16th Congress, 2nd Session, 1016.

scenes of agony and human woe, I should be ashamed to claim kindred with the human race." Foote of Connecticut detested slavery, but believed that Congress had not the power to prevent its extension.[1] Sergeant of Pennsylvania stated slavery to be "a great moral and political evil, and asks "Why should we spread an acknowledged evil?" [2]

John Quincy Adams, in his diary [3] of the events of this period, uses strong words against Southern slavocracy, and characterizes slavery as the great and foul stain upon the North American Union. The Missouri Compromise was "a dishonorable compromise with slavery." Still he favored it as the best possible under the existing constitution. "But perhaps," he continued, "it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction," even though it meant the dissolution of the Union. The temporary dissolution of the existing Union he would consider a small evil, if by its means slavery could be abolished, and a new and stronger Union formed on the basis of universal freedom.

Benton was so sure that the whole Missouri agitation took its rise from the substance of two speeches in the House of Representatives that he urged [4] that henceforth no anti-slavery speech from the North should be disregarded. He admitted that no Southerner could be found who was ready to defend slavery in the abstract. They were, however, more ready to defend the institution since the attack upon it by the North. The whole tenor of Benton's argument shows that he considered the struggle not merely one for precedence, but distinctly against the institution of slavery. No doubt the struggle had the simply political side; many of the men who spent all their strength in the contest looked upon it merely as a struggle for the balance of power; but some, at least, saw a chance for fighting slavery *per se* in this effort to make it a more prominent feature in the Union, and to spread it into territory in which it had never taken root.

It is remarkable that after the tremendous excitement over slavery in Missouri, the institution should almost have been established in the free state of Illinois. No petition against the Ordinance of 1787 seems to have been made in Illinois prior to 1813,

[1] Annals of Congress, 16th Congress, 1st Session, 1171.
[2] *Ibid.* 1206.
[3] John Quincy Adams: Diary, 4. 492, 524, 531; 5. 4, 6, 10, 11, 12.
[4] Benton: "A Thirty Years' View," 1. 136.

although as slaves had been freely held by the French settlers, the institution existed there. In 1812 the Legislature prohibited the immigration of free negroes, and ordered the registration of all then in the territory; violation of either law was subject to severe penalties.[1] In 1813 they petitioned Congress to allow the holding of slaves to work in the salt mines in Shawneetown. There seems to have been no action on the petition, save its reference to a select committee.[2] Since no result came from this petition the territorial Legislature apparently took the matter into its own hands, and passed a law providing that slaves might, with the consent of their owners, hire themselves for work in Illinois, such action not being considered as in any way affecting the master's right of property in the State where they belonged.[3]

The constitution of Illinois, adopted in 1816, like that of Indiana, was ambiguous on slavery.[4] Talmadge of New York expressed himself in Congress as thinking that slavery was not sufficiently prohibited, but the constitution was finally accepted, and Illinois admitted. A law in 1819 at once raised a new doubt. It provided that all negroes without certificates of freedom should be arrested as runaways, hired out and advertised. If not claimed within a year, however, they were to be given certificates of freedom.[5]

The real anti-slavery struggle in Illinois began in 1822. There were over nine hundred slaves held[6] there at that time, and pro-slavery sentiment was active. Runaway slaves were advertised in the newspapers,[7] and the pro-slavery advocates had become so numerous that it was only through a break in their ranks that an anti-slavery governor, Edward Coles, was elected. The majority of the Legislature was pro-slavery, or unwilling to use their influence for anti-slavery measures. Governor Coles in his message in 1822 roused the slavery upholders by the recommendation of a law liberating the slaves of the French, and the repeal of the Black Code. The first act of the Legislature was to appoint a committee on this particular part of the message. They reported in

1 Hinsdale: "The Old Northwest," p. 354.
2 Annals of Congress, 12th Congress, 2nd Session, 883.
3 Hinsdale: "The Old Northwest," p. 354.
4 *Ibid.* p. 359; Annals of Congress, 15th Congress, 2nd Session, 306; J. C. Hurd. "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 132, 133; Niles' Weekly Register, 15. 96.
5 Hurd: "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 134, 135; see note p. 135.
6 See Table, Chapter I.
7 Illinois Gazette, Shawneetown, Ill., Mar. 2, 1822.

favor of a Convention to alter the constitution so as to allow slavery, contending that although no state formed from the old Northwest Territory could be admitted as a slave state, yet after its admission it was free to do as it pleased in the matter. The details of the struggle are well known; the manipulation of the elections to secure a majority in favor of the Convention resolution, the vigorous fight carried on for two years by both sides, and the final victory for freedom.[1]

It is a curious and interesting fact that Governor Coles, Daniel P. Cook (the Congressman), and ten out of the eighteen members of the Legislature who voted and worked against the Convention, were originally from slave states; while four of the leading spirits who advocated the Convention were from the free states: two from New York and two from Pennsylvania.[2]

Pamphlets and newspaper articles in plenty were published in the free states by the friends of liberty in Illinois, and sent to that state for free distribution. These pamphlets laid the greatest stress upon the economic side of the question, — the dearness of slave labor, and the steadily decreasing value of slave-tilled land. It was not esteemed wise to animadvert upon the moral evil of slavery at the expense of the economic, for the pro-slavery agitators appealed to the supposed greater prosperity to be obtained from the holding of slaves. Consequently we do not find in the publications of this struggle much discussion of the moral standpoint. One pamphlet, "Remarks addressed to Citizens of Illinois on the proposed introduction of Slavery" spoke of slavery as contrary to the Golden Rule and the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and declared that the founders of the nation deplored it and expected it to cease.[3] But even here the greater portion of the argument was from the economic standpoint, — quotations from the experience of other states, and prophecies of evil to the laboring classes and landholders alike.

Several anti-slavery societies formed during this struggle with the purpose of preventing the admission of slavery into Illinois remained in existence later, and took their part in the fight against

[1] Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 65–91; Wm. H. Brown: "An Historical Sketch of the Early Movement in Illinois for the Legalization of Slavery" (1865).

[2] John Moses: "Illinois, Historical and Statistical," 1. 324; Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," pp. 105–118.

[3] Pamphlet copy, p. 4.

slavery in the later period. Such were the societies formed in St. Clair County by John M. Peck, which soon had fourteen auxiliaries in as many counties,[1] the society at Edwardsville and many others.

Morris Birkbeck, an English settler, wrote the appeal to the people of Illinois by the minority. It is a history of the struggle, describing the means used in the Legislature to procure a vote for the Convention, and denouncing slavery from all points of view, moral, political and economic.[2] In the latter part of the pamphlet Birkbeck said:[3] "A dreadful inheritance is slavery, — even for those who inflict it! There is no need to expatiate on the evils of slavery; they are too well understood in this country to require description. We all know — its advocates themselves know — that it comprehends every shade of crime, every degree of misery. And shall we, the free citizens of Illinois, hold forth our arms to embrace this monster? Shall we *invite* slavery with its train of crimes and calamities, and leave it a curse to our posterity for the sake of a little present convenience, a little temporary, precarious profit?"

The fight was a hard one; many who acknowledged slavery to be a curse were still anxious to introduce it, because they believed it would raise the price of the land they wished to sell.[4] Others revolted against outside influence from Pennsylvania and other free states, and hence the source of the most of the anti-slavery material sent from those states was kept a secret. The contest was, however, successful at last, and the attempt to admit slavery into a state where it had once been prohibited was a failure.

Though Texas loomed up after 1825, the only other territorial question in which the anti-slavery people could use their influence was the status of the District of Columbia. No one ever doubted the right of Congress to legislate for the District, and its failure to act against slavery there was always regarded as conclusive proof that the pro-slavery interest was strongest in that body. Among the earliest anti-slavery petitions were some against slavery at the capital, and memorials and petitions on the subject were exceedingly

[1] Washburne: "Sketch of Edward Coles," p. 170.

[2] Pamphlet copy; quotations in The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 140, 156, 158, from the Edwardsville Spectator and Illinois Intelligencer; Monthly Review, 103. 171–179.

[3] Pamphlet copy, pp. 10, 11.

[4] Blane: "Excursion through the United States," p. 170.

numerous. Those from the American Convention have already been quoted.[1] In 1826 the inhabitants of Baltimore prepared a memorial, received in February, 1827, asking for a law freeing the *post nati* in the District of Columbia, and denouncing slavery as at war with the fundamental principles of the government, promoting idleness and encouraging vice, incompatible with the Christian religion, and weakening to the nation. There was some opposition, but signatures increased fast.[2] The motion in Congress to print was combated on the ground that the people of the District of Columbia would lose their liberty if slavery were abolished except at their own request, and also because it "breathed the spirit of general emancipation." [3] For a time Congress seemed safe in its assertion that the people of the District of Columbia did not themselves wish for abolition, but in 1828 a petition from the inhabitants of the District with one thousand and sixty signatures, was presented. It does not violently denounce slavery, but it still speaks of the tendency of slavery to corrupt the people, and to diminish the resources of the community.[4]

The Legislature of Pennsylvania passed almost unanimously in 1828 a resolution to instruct and request the members of Congress from that state to procure, if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals and the constitution of the United States.[5] In New York there was an attempt in February, 1829, to do the same thing, but for political reasons it failed.[6]

The first real discussion in Congress on the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia between 1808 and 1831, was in December, 1826, in reference to the imprisonment of the free blacks, to which especial attention had just then been called, through the case of Gilbert Horton.[7] Miner's amendment directing inquiry in regard

[1] See above, pp. 159, 163, 185–189.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 103, 133.

[3] Register of Debates, 19th Congress, 2nd Session, 1099. A similar petition is referred to in The Genius of Universal Emancipation nearly a year later (8. 4).

[4] From a pamphlet copy printed as a House Document. See above, pp. 49, 50.

[5] Minutes of the American Convention for 1829, p. 24; Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 411; Register of Debates, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, 167, 180; Niles' Weekly Register, 35, 363.

[6] Niles' Weekly Register, 35. 433; Register of Debates, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, 167, 175, 191. It is said to have passed the Assembly on Jan. 28, 1829 (Birney: "J. G. Birney," p. 412).

[7] Register of Debates, 19th Congress, 2nd Session, 555.

to the expediency of gradual abolition was decided to be inadmissible as an amendment, and was withdrawn.[1] The committee to whom the other question was referred reported favorably, on the whole, but no action was taken.[2] On January 6, 1829, Miner presented a preamble and resolutions for an enquiry into the facts of slavery in the District, and the practicability of its gradual abolition. His resolutions were passed by the House, after a discussion principally on the preamble which declared that the question had been neglected, and that many abuses had sprung up.[3] But nothing was really done in the matter, and the District remained open to slavery.

[1] Register of Debates, 19th Congress, 2nd Session, 558.
[2] *Ibid.* 654; Congressional Papers, Rep. No. 43, H. of R., 19th Congress, 2nd Session.
[3] Register of Debates, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, 167, 175, 191, etc.

CHAPTER XX

COURT DECISIONS: QUESTIONS OF FREEDOM

One of the most instructive and telling aspects of the slavery question is that presented by the court decisions of both the South and the North. Though they followed legal rules and precedents, they often reflected the private sentiment of the judge in regard to slavery, which was probably the average of public opinion among educated men. They also show the actual status of the negro, and the distance to which a judge could and would go in his favor when opposed to white men. There are few cases in the Northern courts after 1808, in comparison with those at the South, but those few are of much importance. We have very few records [1] of trials in the lower courts of either the South or the North, but the appeals, and the trials in the United States Courts present an amount of material sufficient for independent treatment, should all details and classifications be completely studied and discussed.

Three decisions concerned the legality or illegality of slavery in Northern states. Polly, a woman of color, was brought before the Knox Circuit Court of Indiana on a writ of habeas corpus. The defendant, Lasselle, plead that he had bought her before the cession of the territory to the United States, and that therefore she was a slave. The court gave her back to Lasselle, whereupon an appeal was taken, in July, 1820, to the Indiana Supreme Court, which held that "slavery is entirely prohibited within the State of Indiana by the express words of the constitution," and Polly was accordingly given her freedom.[2] This interpretation of the constitution

[1] It is to be regretted that the reports of the lower courts of North and South alike were not printed and preserved, for thus much more valuable material would have been available. This is perhaps especially true of the South, where nearly all the trials of negroes were confined to these courts. Contemporary writers of articles in periodicals, and a rare instance of reference in the report of a higher court, are all upon which we can rely in the case of by far the larger part of the trials where the slave or the free black came before the law. This is still more true with regard to trials in the slave states where the trial had no concern with the freedom or bondage of the negro. Such cases of this sort as have been found are considered in the next chapter.

[2] J. D. Wheeler: "A Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery," p. 352; J. C. Hurd: "The Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 127; 1 Blackford, 60. The State *vs.* Lasselle.

of Indiana was accepted by several Southern courts, especially of Missouri and Louisiana.[1] The New York Court of Common Pleas at Onondaga held [2] in 1821 "that slavery cannot exist under the constitution of New York." The frame of mind of some free state judges is reflected in a Vermont case, of which no official report can be found. The Vermont Patriot stated in 1829 that "several years since" a slave escaped from New York to Vermont, and hired himself to a farmer. He was found by his master and taken into court, where several witnesses were brought to prove him a slave. The judge, however, declared that no proof was sufficient in his estimation except "a bill of sale from the Almighty." [3]

In at least two cases the Indenture Law of Indiana was assailed as in conflict with the Ordinance of 1787, and therefore not capable of enforcement.[4] In one of them the negro was said to be offered by the indenture law the choice between two evils: to be taken back to a slave state and be a slave for life, or to stay in Indiana and be a slave for a term of years, very likely covering his life.

North and South alike the negro who was certainly free was protected in his freedom. Nobody approved of the kidnapper, and he was usually punished where legal evidence was obtainable. In New York, in 1817, a kidnapper was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary. No fine was imposed because the negroes set free had cost him several thousand dollars.[5] In a flagrant case in Indiana, a justice arrested a free negro for the purpose of running him out of the state.[6] The negro recovered $1000 damages at the Charlestown court, "and, I believe," says the writer who relates the incident, "if he had laid them at quadruple, the jury would have given him every cent."

Many cases occurring at the South were treated with no less severity. Two kidnappers in Maryland, one in 1817 [7] and the other in 1821,[8] were each sent to the penitentiary for five years. In Delaware two men of "respectable connections," convicted of

[1] See below, pp. 228–230.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 12. Were we to have the official report of this decision it might explain its apparent discrepancy with facts.

[3] *Ibid.* 10. 33.

[4] Hurd: "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 127 (Mary Clark, 1821), and 125 (Phoebe *vs.* Jay, 1828).

[5] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 415.

[6] James Flint: "Letters from America," Addenda, p. 309. Extract from a letter from John H. Farnham, Esq., Counsellor-at-law, dated Jeffersonville, Ind. The Legislature is said to have taken the matter up.

[7] Niles' Weekly Register, 13. 30.

[8] *Ibid.* 20. 303.

kidnapping, were publicly whipped and cropped;[1] and in 1818 two negro women found guilty of this offence were condemned to be themselves sold into slavery.[2] A man in Louisiana who at some time before 1814 had arrested and sold a free negro woman was prosecuted, found guilty, fined, imprisoned, and made to pay heavy damages.[3] In Virginia, in 1829, it was decided that stealing a free boy for the purpose of sale into slavery was punishable as kidnapping, even though the offender did not know that the boy was free, and even if the boy gave his consent.[4] The law passed in Missouri Territory in 1818 on this subject declared[5] that "if any person shall hereafter be guilty of stealing or selling any free person for a slave, knowing the said person so sold to be free, and thereof shall be lawfully convicted, the person so convicted shall suffer death without benefit of clergy." No cases are noted in the reports of the higher courts of Missouri as a result of this law. A kidnapper was, however, sentenced to death in Wayne County, North Carolina, in 1818.[6]

The slave trade after its prohibition in 1808 was a likely subject of judicial inquiry, yet the cases brought to trial appear to have been extremely few, and only one in a Southern court has been found. Without doubt scores of indictments failed, or the slave trade was condoned in innumerable instances. Northern courts, however, took a decided stand in a few cases. In Connecticut, in 1809, it was declared that the "trade" did not depend upon the actual sale, but upon the manifestly proved intention.[7] In Massachusetts, in 1820, a man who was found in a local court guilty of engaging in this trade appealed to the United States Circuit, where the judgment was reaffirmed;[8] and in 1823 it was stated as the opinion of Judge Story, when United States Circuit Justice, that a vessel caught in the slave trade, though before she had taken slaves on board, was liable to forfeiture.[9] A decision in New York in 1820 reads:[10] "It is an indictable offence, under the Act of

[1] Niles' Weekly Register, 17. 287. [2] *Ibid.* 14. 256.
[3] 3 Martin (o. s.) 285. Meunier *vs.* Duperron.
[4] 1 Leigh, 588. Davenport *vs.* The Commonwealth.
[5] Digest of the Laws of Missouri Territory, by Geyer, p. 378.
[6] Niles' Weekly Register, 14. 223.
[7] Federal Cases, 27. 1158; 4 Day's Reports, 123; Brun. Col. Cas., 82; U. S. *vs.* Smith.
[8] Federal Cases, 26. 826; 2 Mason, 129; U. S. *vs.* La Coste. La Coste was pardoned in 1822 by President Monroe (Niles' Weekly Register, 22. 114).
[9] Federal Cases, 1. 362 (case 165); 3 Mason, 175; The Alexander.
[10] Federal Cases, 26. 1145; 1 Brunner Col. Cas., 426. U. S. *vs.* Malebran.

Congress, to fit, equip, load or otherwise prepare a vessel in the United States for the purpose of procuring or transporting slaves from a foreign place to any other place." Another the same year says:[1] "It is sufficient on an indictment for engaging in the slave trade, to prove that the accused were engaged in procuring slaves, and sending them on by another vessel; it is not necessary that the vessel to which they belong should actually have had slaves on board."

In the only case in the South, in South Carolina, February, 1808, the decision was that the forfeiture under the act of Congress might be remitted by the United States Circuit Court in cases of extreme hardship.[2] The vessel in question sailed in 1806. Sickness, storms, and hardships of all kinds seemed to follow the craft; she set sail for home in ample time to arrive in the autumn of 1807, but after a voyage unprecedented in length she arrived in January, 1808, and was confiscated by the United States officers.

The Federal slave trade act was backed up in most of the states by laws prohibiting transportation entirely, or imposing strict conditions upon it. The cases that arose were in the lower courts with few appeals, and judgment usually went against the slaveholder. In 1810 a claim for freedom was allowed in consequence of importation into Rhode Island from Cuba;[3] in 1812 was a similar case in regard to importation from Jamaica.[4] Two cases (1809,[5] 1816[6]) have been found in New York under the law of 1788 regulating importation and sale, also one in New Jersey in 1820,[7] in all of which the negro recovered his freedom.

Similar cases under similar laws occurred in Maryland: Fulton *vs.* Lewis, 1815;[8] and Henderson *vs.* Negro Tom, 1817.[9] In the former of these a man fleeing from San Domingo at the time of the revolution there brought with him two slaves, one of whom he sold before returning home, after the pacification of the island. The negro was held entitled to freedom. Two cases in 1814 are

1 Federal Cases, 24. 815; 1 Brunner Col. Cas., 422. U. S. *vs.* Andrews.
2 Federal Cases, 26. 791; Bee., 252. U. S. *vs.* The Kitty.
3 Constitution of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society, published as a pamphlet in 1820, p. 23.
4 *Ibid.* p. 24; Commonwealth *vs.* Austin Montgomery.
5 Anthon's Nisi Prius Reports, 128. Dubois *vs.* Allen.
6 Niles' Weekly Register, 18. 344.
7 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 381. Helm *vs.* Miller.
8 *Ibid.* p. 382; 3 Har. & John., 564.
9 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 381; 4 Har. & John., p. 282.

similar in import. A slave was taken from Maryland to the District of Columbia, and while there a child was born. When taken back to Maryland the child was declared free.[1] Another slave and her child taken to the District of Columbia and back to Maryland in the same way were both held entitled to freedom.[2]

A case occurred in Maryland in 1813, where a slave petitioned for freedom in a court in Baltimore County on the ground of a violation of the Virginia import law, which gave freedom to the imported slave after a residence of one year, unless a certain oath had been taken within sixty days after the importation. He was adjudged free both by the court of *oyer and terminer*, and in the court of appeals. It is especially noteworthy that the year of residence was in this case made up of short, non-consecutive periods.[3] In 1821, in the District of Columbia, in a similar case, where there had been some years' residence in Virginia, the counsel for the claimant wished the court to instruct the jury that the presumption was that the importer took the oath, but the plea was not allowed.[4] In 1820 it had been even held that the failure of the slave to appeal for freedom during a period of nine years after he had arrived at the age of twenty-one did not of itself create a presumption that the oath had been taken.[5] Under the Maryland law prohibiting the importation of slaves from other states, a slave taken from Virginia and kept in Maryland for a period of years, on his return to Virginia in 1829, was adjudged free by the Virginia courts, after two appeals.[6]

The law of the District of Columbia forbade importation for sale, although residents might bring their slaves with them, and it led to many cases in the United States Circuit Court of the District. Two cases, in 1826[7] and 1830,[8] declared that a sale within three years rendered such importation illegal. Another, in 1823,[9] declared such importation illegal, even though the intention was to

[1] 3 Har. & John., 491. Sprigg *vs.* Negro Mary.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 493. Sprigg *vs.* Negro Presley.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 28; Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 338; 5. Har. & John., 107. Stewart *vs.* Oakes.
[4] Federal Cases, 10. 46; 2 Cranch, C. C., 236. Garretson *vs.* Lingan. (A citation from 5 Munf., 542.)
[5] Federal Cases, 20. 455; 2 Cranch, C. C., 220. Reeler *vs.* Robinson.
[6] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 339; 1 Leigh, 172. Hunter *vs.* Fulcher.
[7] Federal Cases, 29. 1286; 3 Cranch, C. C., 55. Williams *vs.* Van Zandt.
[8] Federal Cases, 11. 611; 4 Cranch, C. C., 1. Harris *vs.* Alexander.
[9] Federal Cases, 13. 1101; 2 Cranch, C. C., 373. Jordan *vs.* Sawyer.

carry the slave out of the District. The sale within three years was legal proof that the slave was brought for sale. Another decision in 1828 is worth quoting.[1] "If a citizen of Virginia, the owner of a slave there, who had resided in Virginia three whole years, remove into the county of Washington with the *bona fide* intention to settle therein, and bring the slave with him, at the time of his removal, or within one year thereafter, to reside in the said county, such importation is not contrary to law; but a sale of such slave, in the said county, within three years after such importation, may entitle him to freedom; although such sale be made to a person residing out of the District of Columbia, and in a state wherein slaves are lawfully held, and intending to take the said slave out of the District of Columbia to the place of the purchaser's residence, and with that intent removing him from Washington to Alexandria, where he ran away and came to Washington and the sale was by mutual consent rescinded; and although the sale (commenced in Washington) was not consummated till the removal of the slave to Alexandria; and although the agreement for the sale was made in Alexandria, out of the county of Washington, and was not to be complete till the slave should be delivered by the seller to the purchaser at Alexandria, where the delivery in fact took place." A case somewhat similar had been decided in 1821, where passage through Alexandria was brought forward ineffectually as a plea against giving the slave his freedom.[2]

Birth in a free state was in every case considered as conclusive proof of freedom.[3] A decision in Pennsylvania in 1816 assumed the same doctrine, although the mother was a fugitive slave who was afterwards reclaimed;[4] and this decision was also quoted in 1816, and again in 1817.[5]

Removal to a free state was in these early years regarded as giving freedom to the slave so removed, provided the removal was a

[1] Federal Cases, 2. 1037; 3 Cranch, C. C., 296. Battle *vs.* Miller.

[2] Federal Cases, 7. 1185; 2 Cranch, C. C., 261. Dunbar *vs.* Ball.

[3] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 346; 6 Rand., 566 (Spotts *vs.* Gillespie, Va., 1828); Wheeler, 356; 8 Mart. (n. s.), 699 (John Merry *vs.* Chexnaider, La., 1830); 1 Mo. Sup. Court, 725 (John Merry *vs.* Tiffin & Menard, 1827); African Observer, 10th Month, 1827, p. 204, letter dated Aug. 23, 1827 (perhaps a case of residence).

[4] 2 Ser. & Rawle, 305 (Com. *vs.* Holloway); Stroud: "Sketch of Laws relating to Slavery," edition of 1827, p. 135, edition of 1856, p. 215; Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 383; Constitution of Penn. Abolition Society, 1820, p. 23; Niles' Weekly Register 11. 28; Hurd: "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 412–414.

[5] Niles' Weekly Register: 11. 46; Needles: "History of the Penn. Abolition Society," p. 64.

change of residence, permanent or temporary, and not a mere transit from one state to another. In 1818 residence in Pennsylvania was held to prevent the removal of a servant out of the state on an indenture, though the indenture had been made in another state, before the residence in Pennsylvania, and though the indenture contained a covenant to serve the master in Pennsylvania or anywhere. The covenant was held to have been made void by the residence in a free state.[1] A slave taken from the District of Columbia to reside in Pennsylvania was set free in 1822,[2] and a similar case came before one of the United States Circuit Courts of Pennsylvania in 1823.[3]

It is significant that most of these decisions were made by Southern state courts, or by the Federal courts in the Southern states, for the sentiment before 1831 is directly at variance with the Dred Scott decision in 1857, though the conditions were identical. Among many such cases in Louisiana [4] was a typical case in 1824, in which the slave had been removed from Kentucky to Ohio, where she claimed her freedom, then forcibly brought back to Kentucky, and again to Ohio, before her final removal to Louisiana. The Supreme Court held that "the relation of owner and slave, is, in the states of this Union, in which it has a legal existence, a creature of the municipal law." Removal into a free state by the owner subjected his whole family, white and black, and all his property, to the operation of the constitution and laws of that state, and according to them slavery could not exist in his house. The right to freedom thus acquired could never be forfeited by removal to a slave state.[5] Other like decisions in Southern courts were in Kentucky in 1820,[6] 1821,[7] and 1825;[8] in Virginia in 1820;[9] in Mississippi in 1818;[10] and in Missouri

[1] 4 Ser. & Rawle, 218, Com. *vs.* Hambright.

[2] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 383. Com. ex rel. Hall & Cook. Also Com. *vs.* Robinson.

[3] Federal Cases, 22. 151; 4 Wash. C. C., 396. Ex parte Simmons.

[4] Dunn: "Indiana," p. 234. This is said to have been the law in Louisiana until 1846.

[5] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," pp. 335–338; Birney: "James G. Birney and His Times," p. 263; 2 Mart. (n. s.), 401. Lunsford *vs.* Coquillon.

[6] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 339; Birney: "James G. Birney," p. 263; Hurd: "Law of Freedom and Bondage," 2. 124; 2 A. K. Marshall, 467–479. Rankin *vs.* Lydia.

[7] Dunn: "Indiana," p. 234.

[8] *Ibid.*; 3 Monroe, 100. Bush's Rep. *vs.* White & Wife.

[9] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 354. Griffith *vs.* Fanny.

[10] *Ibid.* 340; Dunn: "Indiana," p. 233. Harvy & others *vs.* Decker & Hopkins.

in 1824,[1] 1827,[2] 1828,[3] and 1830.[4] The Mississippi case is interesting because the point at issue was whether negroes taken from Virginia to Indiana in 1784, residing there till 1816, and then removed to a slave state, were freed by the Ordinance of 1787. In the course of the argument the judge said: "Slavery is condemned by reason and the laws of nature. It exists, and can only exist, through municipal regulations, and in matter of doubt, is it not an unquestioned rule, that courts must lean *in favorem vitae et libertatis?*"[5] Again: "According to the construction of the defendant's counsel, those who were slaves at the passage of the Ordinance must continue in the same situation. Can this construction be correct? Would it not defeat the great object of the general government? It is obvious that it would, and it is inadmissible upon every principle of legal construction." Unfortunately the courts of the Northwest Territory and the subsequent states did not always so construe the Ordinance.

An often quoted case is Rankin *vs.* Lydia, in Kentucky. Judge Mills, who delivered the opinion of the court, utterly disclaims any degree of influence by "the general principles of liberty which we all admire," but deals simply with "the law as it is, and not as it ought to be." He asks to whom Lydia belonged during the seven years' residence in Indiana. Not to the resident of Kentucky to whom she had belonged originally, for he had sold her; not to the citizen of Indiana who had paid the money for her, because it was impossible under the Ordinance of 1787. Therefore she must have been her own property. Hence no future sale by another could give a right to her services. At all events, the purchaser in Indiana at the end of the seven years could not have had the right to her services while in Indiana. "And is it to be seriously contended that so soon as he transported her to the Kentucky shore, the noxious atmosphere of this state, without any express law for the purpose, clamped upon her newly forged chains of slavery, after the old ones were destroyed! For the honor of our country, we cannot for a moment admit that the bare treading of its soil, is thus dangerous, even to the degraded African."[6]

[1] Moses: History of Illinois, 1. 325; 1 Mo. Sup. Court, 472. Winny *vs.* Whitesides.
[2] African Observer, October, 1827, p. 204; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 7. 115.
[3] 2 Mo. Sup. Court, 20 (La Grange *vs.* Chouteau), 36 (Milly *vs.* Stephen Smith).
[4] 2 Mo. Sup. Court, 214. Vincent *vs.* James Duncan.
[5] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 340; Dunn: "Indiana," p. 233.
[6] 2 A. K. Marshall, 470–479.

The case in Missouri in 1830 is especially interesting, partly because it came so near to the close of the period, and partly because of its breadth. It asserted that if the owner of slaves took them to Illinois to reside, they were free; if he stayed in Kentucky and sent the slaves to Illinois, they were free; and that a slave residing at the Ohio Saline as a laborer in 1817 was entitled to freedom.[1]

In North and South alike the *onus probandi* was on the pure negro in any claim for freedom.[2] For "persons of color" the rule was often different. In Ohio a decision in 1821 settled the principle that quadroons and others between whites and mulattoes had all the rights, privileges, and duties of whites.[3] In an appeal case in Virginia in 1811 it was held that if by ordinary inspection by a jury the plaintiff appeared to be white, the *onus probandi* was on the person claiming him as a slave.[4] That no presumption of slavery arose from the color of a mulatto was settled in North Carolina in 1828.[5] In Louisiana, in 1810, a person of color was presumed free,[6] and in 1812 "a woman being of color, the presumption is that she was born free."[7] The same presumption was held in 1816 to entitle the petitioner to freedom under the old Spanish law, — the parol evidence by five witnesses;[8] and in 1829 the decision was again reaffirmed, that presumption of slavery was confined to blacks.[9] Color arising from descent from Indians was in no case assumed as proof of slavery, but the reverse.[10]

Even in those cases where the *onus probandi* was by law on the petitioner for freedom, other conditions were often allowed by the courts to reverse the pres mption arising from color. Judge Spencer of New York said in 1817, in a case of emancipation by two out

[1] 2 Mo. Sup. Court, 214. This seems to cover every possible construction of the Dred Scott case.

[2] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 392, etc. Remick *vs.* Chloe; and in many other authorities.

[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 70.

[4] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 22. Hook *vs.* Nanny Pagee.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 406; 1 Dev., 376 (Scott *vs.* Williams); Stroud: "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery," edition of 1827, pp. 80, 81, edition of 1856, pp. 127–129 (Gobu *vs.* Gobu; date not given).

[6] 1 Martin (o. s.), 183. Adelle *vs.* Beauregard.

[7] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 7; 2 Martin (o. s.), 208; State *vs.* Cecil.

[8] 4 Martin (o. s.), 348. Beard *vs.* Poydras.

[9] 7 Martin (n. s.), 648. Pilie *vs.* Lalande et al.

[10] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 18. (Butt *vs.* Rachel et al; Ulzire *vs.* Poey Fane); 1 Mart. & Yerger, 4 (Vaughan *vs.* Phebe).

of three joint owners, that "all presumptions in favor of personal liberty ought to be made"; a person must be either slave or free;[1] and this feeling seems quite common in all parts of the country. In the same case (Oatfield *vs.* Waring) a second point was that bringing an action against a slave is a concession that he is free and cannot be claimed as a slave.[2] In New York parol declarations made twenty years before by the owner of a slave that he purchased her to set her free, and that he meant her to be freed, were held in 1812 to be evidence of manumission.[3] A reputation for freedom, and proof of actual enjoyment of freedom for more than twenty years, was considered in New Jersey, in 1826, to overcome the presumption of slavery from color.[4] A similar case had occurred in 1813 in the same state, where a black witness reputed free from childhood was sworn without other proof of freedom.[5]

In Louisiana, in 1816, there was a noteworthy decision, which gives the advantage to an alleged slave, contrary to the usual rule that the *onus probandi* was on the negro. As proof of slavery was offered a bill of sale, executed in 1803 in Detroit, Michigan, and several witnesses testified that he had been before that time commonly reported to be a slave. The lower (parish) court declared the man a slave. On appeal, Martin, the appellate judge, decided that a negro will be presumed free though purchased as a slave, if the purchase was made in a country in which slavery is not tolerated, unless it be shown that he was before in one in which it is.[6] In the same year, 1816, it was held in South Carolina that where a person who moved to that state from Maryland, bringing a slave girl with him, whom he held in servitude all his life, had been heard to acknowledge that the girl's mother was free, it was evidence sufficient to offset the presumption by color, to establish her freedom, and entitle her to damages.[7]

Possession of freedom for twenty years was in Louisiana considered as conclusive right to freedom under the old Spanish law;[8]

1 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 310. Oatfield *vs.* Waring.
2 *Ibid.* p. 385.
3 *Ibid.* p. 404; 9 Johnson, 144. Wells *vs.* Lane.
4 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 392; 3 Halstead, 275. Fox *vs.* Lambson.
5 2 Pennington, 1030. Potts *vs.* Harper.
6 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 349; 4 Martin (o. s.), 385. Forsyth et al *vs.* Nash.
7 1 Mill, 137. Pepoon, guardian of Phebe *vs.* Clarke.
8 The Spanish law allowed freedom to a slave who had lived as free for 15 years in the presence of her master, or for 20 years in his absence, without interruption. In the case on trial these conditions had not been fulfilled. Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 103; 6 Mart. (o. s.), 16. Metayer *vs.* Metayer.

and it was declared that a slave who enjoyed that right in Hispaniola after the passage of the emancipation law by the French, might reckon that time in establishing her right to freedom under that law. Actual enjoyment of freedom was considered in 1829 as *prima facie* evidence of freedom.[1] Deeds of manumission, properly executed, were in 1821 [2] and 1826 [3] held as sufficient evidence of freedom, although no proof could be shown that they had been made by the owner of the slave. Cases in some respects similar to that of Oatfield *vs.* Waring in New York are found in Maryland in 1817 [4] and 1821,[5] where it was decided that the devise of property, real or personal, to a slave, by the owner, entitled the slave to "freedom by implication," since by law no slave could inherit or hold property. According to some authorities all presumptions in Missouri prior to 1830 were in favor of freedom, save where the law was too plain to admit of possible doubt,[6] and the cases seem to bear out that statement.

Many Southern states forbade emancipation, save under specified conditions, and nearly all insisted upon more or less tedious formalities.[7] In three cases in 1829, in as many states, these formalities were set aside. In Kentucky it was decided that a slave might be emancipated by any instrument of writing; it was not even necessary that it be sealed and recorded, though it might be if the holder wished it.[8] A general law in Maryland that a slave could not receive a legacy was set aside in the case of a bequest of freedom.[9] And in Virginia, a decision declared that when a testator directed that his slaves should be emancipated by his executor, the will should be held to have emancipated them.[10] It was determined in the District of Columbia as early as 1813 that an informal deed of manumission, accompanied by actual enjoyment of freedom, before the commission of a certain offence, followed by a formal deed of manumission after the offence, was sufficient evi-

[1] 7 Mart. (n. s.), 649. Pilie *vs.* Lalande et al.
[2] 10 Mart. (o. s.), 425. Brown *vs.* Compton.
[3] 4 Mart. (n. s.), 203. Simmins *vs.* Parker.
[4] 4 H. &. J., 262. Burroughs' Adm. *vs.* Negro Anna.
[5] 5 H. & J., 190. Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 385. Hall *vs.* Mullin.
[6] Dunn: "Indiana," p. 227.
[7] Constitution of Alabama, 1819, Art. "Slaves," § 1. (Code of Ala. (1896), vol. ii, 56, 57); Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, 34, 523; Acts of 1820 (S. C.), 22; 2 Bailey (S. C.), Rep., 139 (2 Faust. 356–357); and in general in all Southern states.
[8] 2 J. J. Marshall, 230. Fanny *vs.* Dejarnet's Adm.
[9] 2 Bland, Chan., 314. Hammond *vs.* Hammond.
[10] 1 Leigh, 465. Dunn *vs.* Amey and others.

dence that the person was not a slave at the time of committing the offence;[1] and in 1830, that the manifest intention of a will to emancipate should be held sufficient, even though there was a failure to use the proper words.[2]

In both the North and the South, when emancipation was once consummated the former slave was under the protection of the state and could not be reënslaved except as punishment for crime. A resident of Virginia directed by will that a negro slave should be free after the expiration of his apprenticeship, and the executors agreed and let him go free. Later he was sold, but when the matter was brought into court in 1823 the sale was held void.[3] In 1824 it was decided in the District of Columbia that a slave who had been manumitted and had lost her deed of manumission was entitled to relief in equity.[4]

The principle was settled in Kentucky in 1830 that no slave once manumitted should be sold for debt, if the original creditor had been willing to lose the money. The case was Ferguson *vs.* Sarah. Sarah had been bought in 1809 by an abolitionist, Enoch Smith, for the purpose of emancipation. In accordance with this plan he sold her to her husband, Ben, a free man of color, taking his notes for the amount. Smith later became embarrassed, and desiring that Sarah should be freed while it was in his power, he allowed Ben to make out the deed of manumission, though he had not paid in full. Sarah lived as a free woman from 1809. In 1818 Ben died intestate and without having completed the payments, and Smith died in 1825. Ferguson, the administrator of Smith, was about to sell Sarah to pay Ben's debt to Smith, when an injunction was awarded and the matter brought into court. The Supreme Court of the state decided that since the only objection to her freedom was the right of the creditor, and since the original creditor, Smith, had undoubtedly wished for her emancipation, even though the debt was not paid, no valid objection existed to her freedom.[5]

Nearly always ratification of a formal agreement to manumit was insisted upon, if the matter was brought into court. In at least two instances the question of such ratification came before a Northern

[1] Federal Cases, 24. 1279; 2 Cranch, C. C., 95. U. S. *vs.* Bruce.
[2] Federal Cases, 20. 105; 4 Cranch, C. C., 17. Quando *vs.* Clagett.
[3] Harper (S. C.), 2nd edition, 20. Rice *ads.* Spear & Galbraith.
[4] Federal Cases, 1. 408; 2 Cranch, C. C., 485. Alice *vs.* Morte.
[5] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 280; 4 J. J. Marshall, 104 ff.

court. A negro slave in New York claimed and recovered freedom in 1810, on the ground of a deed given several years before by a former owner, manumitting him after the said owner's death, "in spite of all bills of sale or last will by him thereafter to be made." Such a certificate entitled the slave to freedom, although he had been sold during the lifetime of the original owner, after receiving the above certificate.[1] In the second case, in 1811, the decision reads that when the owner gives the slave a written promise to manumit in eight years on account of faithful service, such manumission was obligatory upon the master.[2]

In the South questions involving enforced emancipation were more likely to come into the higher courts on appeal. In 1808 in Maryland, a slave sold by parol for a term of seven years, with an agreement between the vendor and the vendee that at the end of that time he was to be manumitted by the vendee, was held to be entitled to freedom.[3] A similar case occurred in 1821.[4] A decision in 1829 was that a devise bequeathing freedom on condition of annual payments as long as he lived, entitled the slave to freedom on the date mentioned, his freedom not being dependent on the fulfilment of the condition.[5] A negro taken from Maryland to Kentucky to serve a set limited time was not emancipated at the time set. A suit brought in 1805 resulted in a decree of emancipation, with damages at $691.25, and an appeal in 1809 reaffirmed this decision.[6]

A suit for freedom was in many states the only process in which a slave could appear as a plaintiff; cases of assault and battery, or of cruelty, being brought in the name of the owner, or of the state, or of the United States. In these suits the slave was allowed the benefit of all doubts, save the *onus probandi;* had the benefit of free counsel; and enjoyed protection against removal until the judgment had been pronounced.[7] In 1808 in the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, a petition for freedom was granted to the petitioner simply because the exact provisions of law had not

1 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 309; 5 Johnson, 365. Case of Negro Tom.
2 Wheeler, "Law of Slavery," p. 232; 7 Johnson, 324. Kettletas *vs.* Fleet.
3 2 Har. & John., 323. Negro Cato *vs.* Howard.
4 5 Har. & John., 310. Hughes *vs.* Negro Milly et al.
5 1 Gill & J., 390. Miller, Ex'r of Beard, *vs.* Negro Charles.
6 1 Bibb, 423. Thompson *vs.* Wilmot.
7 Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, 523; Laws of the State of Missouri, published by the State in 1825, p. 404. Act passed in 1824.

been complied with by the master.[1] In 1829 the decision was rendered in the same court that a petition for freedom was not a local action; the right was personal, and accompanied the person wherever he went.[2]

In still another case the affidavit of a manumitted slave was sufficient to secure a summons on the ground that the petitioner for freedom, the wife of the freedman, was to be removed out of the District by her owner, before judgment.[3] In 1824 the obligation to allow the slave to remain until after judgment, in the case of a suit for freedom, was very definitely put by the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.[4] "Upon a petition for freedom, suggesting an apprehension that the defendant will sell and remove the petitioners from the jurisdiction of the court, supported by affidavit, a judge of this court, in vacation, will order an injunction without security; and upon further affidavit that the defendant had attempted to carry the petitioners away after notice of the filing of their petition, the judge will order the marshal to take them into his custody for safe-keeping until the defendant shall give the security required by law for their forthcoming to prosecute their petition; and if the defendant shall refuse to give such security, and if judgment shall be rendered against him, the marshal's fees for keeping them shall be taxed in the bill of costs against the defendant. A similar decision in the same year (1808) in Virginia had the added provision that the expenses of keeping the plaintiffs were to be laid on the defendant even though the suit should be decided in his favor.[5] In 1827 it was held in the District of Columbia that an attachment for contempt would lie against a master so attempting to remove his slave, after notice of the petition for freedom, even though judgment was finally against the petitioners.[6]

The laws in regard to fugitive slaves were usually executed, although the judges in Northern courts sometimes showed reluctance. In the first fugitive slave case in Ohio a Virginia slave, Jane, accused of the theft of four dollars, was condemned to death by a Virginia court. This sentence was commuted to sale and trans-

[1] Federal Cases, 7. 111; 1 Cranch, C. C., 482. Davis *vs.* Baltzer.
[2] Federal Cases, 4. 898; 3 Cranch, C. C., 611. Butler et al *vs.* Duvall.
[3] Federal Cases, 17. 1147; 1 Cranch, C. C., 523. Nan et al *vs.* Moxley et al.
[4] Federal Cases, 20. 384; 2 Cranch, C. C., 514. Rebecca et al *vs.* Pumphrey.
[5] 2 Hen. & Munf., 19. Sarah *vs.* Henry.
[6] Federal Cases, 20. 682; 3 Cranch, C. C., 214. Richard *vs.* Van Meter.

portation; but the jail door was left open, and the slave walked out and disappeared. Many knew of her escape and later of her place of residence in Ohio, but for some years she was not molested. She married a free colored man, and had one child. In 1810 one Beeson, without any evidence of authority, attempted to carry off both mother and child. The attempt was resisted, and Jane secreted, whereupon Beeson obtained a letter from the Governor of Virginia to the Governor of Ohio.[1] Citizens of Ohio petitioned in her favor, and the Governor refused to give her up. Later, on a formal requisition [2] by the Governor of Virginia, Jane was given up as a fugitive from justice, the Governor of Ohio feeling that he had no discretion in the matter. She was ordered sold by Beeson, and the price paid into the Virginia State Treasury.[3]

In 1829 a mulatto woman was arrested in New York as a runaway. She claimed to be free, but on the testimony of her captor she was adjudged a slave, and committed to jail till she could be taken to Alabama. On a writ of *habeas corpus* she was brought before Judge Edwards, but remanded to prison, on which her alleged owner confined her on board of a vessel. Here members of the New York Manumission Society interfered, procured the ancient writ *de homine replegiando*, under which the sheriff of New York took her from the custody of her "owner" to Albany. On this trial six witnesses from New York bore witness to her freedom, but technicalities prevented her discharge. Four colored men then gave security that she would prove her freedom, and she was set at liberty. No further account of her is obtainable.[4]

The Act of Congress respecting fugitives owing service of labor was held in 1823 in Pennsylvania not to apply to slaves brought by their masters from one state to another, who afterwards escaped or who refused to return.[5]

There was of course little trouble in the South in regard to fugitive slaves. But in Louisiana, in 1816, it was declared that a runaway could not be sold by the jailer unless unreclaimed for two years after the first of three advertisements required by law.[6] There is, however, no evidence that this was for any other purpose

[1] Not a legal requisition in proper form.
[2] Not as a fugitive slave but as a fugitive criminal.
[3] W. H. Smith: "The First Fugitive Slave Case in Ohio," pp. 94–99.
[4] Niles' Weekly Register, 37. 308; quotation from the Albany Daily Advertiser.
[5] Federal Cases, 22. 151; 4 Wash. C. C., 396. Ex parte Simmons.
[6] 4 Mart. (o. s.), 391. Labranche *vs.* Watkins.

than the protection of the rights of the owner. In 1820 a person arresting a runaway was held, in Louisiana, not responsible for his escape before being brought before a justice, unless guilty of negligence.[1] According to a law passed in Mississippi in 1822, no runaway could be delivered to a claimant without proof on oath.[2] It is interesting to note that as late as November, 1830, the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia refused to give up to Maryland two slaves escaping from that state, holding that their claim to freedom had arisen in the District, and their witnesses lived there. They had been brought by their masters into the District, and had lived there one year, and escaped thither on their subsequent removal to Maryland.[3]

The question of the status of the children of slaves involved much litigation. The rule *partus ventrem sequitur* must of course hold good in all definite cases. The child of a slave mother in a slave state was certainly a slave, and the child of a free mother, whether in free or slave states, was as certainly free. But the cases where the mother was a slave for time, or under particular conditions, and the ruling of birth or residence in the various states, slave as well as free, often brought up grave doubts as to the status of the child. A number of cases dependent on birth or residence have already been mentioned.[4] In Kentucky in 1809, the conditions were definitely stated. When a slave registered in Pennsylvania, and therefore a slave for life, was removed without her consent to Kentucky, she remained a slave, and her children born in Kentucky were slaves. If they had been born in Pennsylvania they would have been free, and removal to Kentucky would not then have defeated their right to freedom.[5]

In 1826 it was decided in two cases in Pennsylvania that the child of a "servant for time" was not a slave of the same class as the mother. The first of these cases simply gave the negative side, that the child of a servant till twenty-eight years could not be held to servitude under the same conditions as its mother, who was the child of a registered slave.[6] The second states decisively that the child of a servant for time is free.[7]

[1] 7 Mart. (o. s.), 371. Palfrey *vs.* Rivas. [2] Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, 518.
[3] Federal Cases, 22. 163; 4 Cranch, C. C., 79. Simon et al *vs.* Paine.
[4] See above, p. 227.
[5] 1 Bibb, 615. Frank *ads.* Milam's Ex'r; Tom *ads.* Smith; Mary *ads.* Shannon; Betsey *ads.* Shannon.
[6] 11 Sergeant & Rawle, 442; The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 6. 35. Miller *vs.* Dwilling. [7] 15 Ser. & Rawle, 18. Scott *vs.* Waugh.

Even in the slave states there was a considerable tendency to give freedom, if possible, to children of slaves for time, even though they were born during their mothers' period of servitude. In the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, in 1818, a decision was given that children born between the date of a promise to manumit at a given future date, and that date, were entitled to freedom at the same time as their mother.[1] Of similar import were the decisions in the cases in Kentucky of Hart *vs.* Fanny Ann in 1827,[2] and of Fanny *vs.* Bryant in 1830,[3] and in Virginia of Isaac *vs.* West's Ex., in 1828.[4] In Maryland, in 1823, a slave was bequeathed to another during the latter's life, to be free thereafter. It was held that her "increase" during the period was included.[5] In Virginia, in 1827, in a suit for freedom, Judge Carr decided that when a female slave is emancipated with a reservation that the future increase shall be slaves, the reservation is void. "A *free* mother cannot have children who are *slaves*. Such a birth would be monstrous, both in the eye of reason and of law."[6] In Louisiana, in 1824, to the descent from an emancipated slave was plead the fact that the petitioner had been held as a slave long enough to prove possession. The judge decided, however, that she was free.[7]

In Connecticut, in 1817, it was decided that the daughter of a slave woman born after March 1, 1784, was not a slave but a servant till twenty-five years.[8] Practically identical with all the cases mentioned is one in New York in 1815, where a certain Conklin bequeathed freedom to a slave, Maria, and also the use, during her life, of her daughter, Cloe. Cloe had children during the lifetime of Maria, and the dispute arose in after years as to the ownership of one of these children, who was claimed by the legal representatives of Conklin. Judge Yates decided that in all probability the negro was free; if not, he belonged to the legal representatives of Maria, and not to those of Conklin.[9]

[1] Federal Cases, 21. 431; 2 Cranch, C. C., 155. Sarah *vs.* Taylor.
[2] 6 Monroe, 49.
[3] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 33; 4 J. J. Marshall, 368.
[4] 6 Rand. 652.
[5] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 32. Hamilton *vs.* Cragg.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 31; 4 Rand., 597. Fulton *vs.* Shaw. This was, however, expressly decreed by a law in Maryland in 1809; see above, p. 52.
[7] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 101. Delphine *vs.* Deveze.
[8] 2 Conn. Rep., 355. Windsor *vs.* Hartford.
[9] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 26. Conklin *vs.* Havens.

CHAPTER XXI

COURT DECISIONS: THE SLAVE BEFORE THE LAW

When we finally turn from the consideration of questions of possible freedom to the actual status of the slave before the law, we find great divergence in the policy and practice of the North and of the South. There were practically no slave codes in the North, even in those states where slavery existed at least *de facto* during the entire period under consideration.[1] The court decisions here, therefore, rest almost entirely upon common law, and the slave had in consequence very largely the rights and privileges of freemen in the courts. An opinion in 1822 by Judge Platt of New York was that marriage was legal where one of the parties was a slave, and if the mother was free the children were also free. "The husband is not *emancipated*, nor is the wife *enslaved* by such a marriage. I am inclined to listen to the suggestions of policy and humanity" dictating the above rule.[2] In 1827, however, it was held that a slave could not marry under the common law, that the right depended upon a special law passed in 1809. Hence the children of a slave could not inherit at common law, nor take possession of land. But by a special law a slave could take possession of land granted for military service during the Revolutionary War; hence it legalized all marriages and births involved, and the children of such a slave could inherit.[3]

Only one case of the trial of a slave for a crime has been found at the North.[4] A negro, fugitive from Baltimore, was followed into Pennsylvania, where he killed his owner and another man in self-defence, and then gave himself up. He was tried first for the murder of his owner, and acquitted, on the ground that the owner

[1] Laws did exist in many states which assumed the inferiority of the negro, but not in sufficient number to form a separate code.

[2] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 199. Overseers of Marbletown *vs.* Overseers of Kingston.

[3] 5 Cowen, 397. Jackson *vs.* Lervey.

[4] Niles' Weekly Register, 19. 336; 21. 214; 23. Supplement, p. 151. The last quotation is from the Village Record of West Chester, Pa.

had no legal right to arrest the negro in Pennsylvania, and the killing was in self-defence. Later he was tried for the murder of the other man, and, because of different constructions of the law bearing on the case, found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to the penitentiary for nine years.

In the South, on the contrary, the common law was rarely held to apply to even the free negro, much less to the slave. He was not as a rule entitled to trials in the courts nor in the manner provided for free whites, but before justices of the peace in ordinary cases and in the petty courts in capital cases. For that reason few negro criminal cases are reported. Usages differed somewhat in the different states. Largely through the exertions of James G. Birney,[1] in 1819, the constitution of Alabama secured to all slaves impartial trial by petit jury in all prosecutions above petit larceny.[2] By the constitution of 1817 the same was true as regards capital cases in Mississippi.[3] In North Carolina a jury of slaveholders was empannelled in certain cases.[4] The indictment must be perfectly correct, and in cases where the punishment extended to "life, limb, or member," the slave convicted in the county court was entitled to appeal to the Superior Court.[5] In the constitution of Missouri it is decreed that "in prosecutions for crimes, slaves shall not be deprived of an impartial trial by jury, and a slave convicted of a capital offence shall suffer the same degree of punishment and no other, that would be inflicted on a free white person for a like offence," and the courts must assign them a counsel.[6] In Alabama, in 1827, it was stated that a slave might be punished by whipping and branding for manslaughter, if the victim was another slave.[7] It is interesting in this connection to note that in a case in the District of Columbia, in 1822, the jurors were first challenged and set aside unless they opposed giving the slave his freedom, or were indifferent on the subject, but before the jury was fully empannelled the court determined that this was unnecessary.[8]

It was very rarely, and only under certain conditions, that a slave

[1] See above, p. 20.
[2] Constitution, Art. Slaves, § 2. (Code of Ala., 1896, vol. ii., pp. 56, 57.)
[3] Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, 34; Constitution, Art. Slaves, § 2.
[4] 1 Dev., 142. The State *vs.* Jim.
[5] 2 Murphy, 100. The State *vs.* Washington.
[6] Constitution, Art. III, Sec. 27, Rev. Code of 1825. (Laws of the State of Mo., Pub. by State, Feb. 1825.)
[7] Stewart, 1. 38.
[8] Federal Cases, 16. 1106; 2 Cranch, C. C., 343. Matilda *vs.* Mason et al.

could be a witness in a court of law. That they could not witness against free blacks seems to have been the general rule in the entire South.[1] It is therefore interesting to find several direct contradictions of that rule. In 1808 a law was passed in Maryland that "in all criminal prosecutions against any negro or mulatto slave, or against any mulatto descended from a white woman, or against any negro or mulatto free or freed, the testimony of any negro or mulatto slave, or the testimony of any mulatto descendant from a white woman, or the testimony of any negro or mulatto free or freed, may be received in evidence for or against them, any law now existing to the contrary notwithstanding." [2] In Virginia in 1811 a court decision reads:[3] "If the act could be construed to extend to mayhems committed on slaves, they might be introduced as witnesses against free white persons." This decision is cited in 1827 as the chief argument in declaring it a felony maliciously to shoot a slave, the point being that a stranger should not be allowed to exercise lawless authority even over a slave.[4] It is especially noteworthy that in both cases the assumption is that the common law so provides and is sufficient. In Mississippi, in an act passed in 1822, it was provided that any negro or mulatto, bond or free, should be a good witness in pleas of the state for or against negroes or mulattoes, bond or free, or in civil pleas where free negroes or mulattoes should alone be parties, and in no other cases whatever.[5]

With regard to the ill-treatment of slaves, there was often a clear distinction made between such treatment by a master, and by a stranger. In the case of a stranger it was often taken up simply on the basis of injury to the property of another. In 1809 the hirer of a slave was held responsible for the health of the slave, even to the employment of a physician, but he was responsible to the owner.[6] In 1823, in North Carolina, it was decided that battery on a slave, apparently by a stranger, no justification being shown, was indictable.[7] A suit for assault and battery brought in the same state against the hirer of a slave was decided against him

[1] Slavery Code of D. C. (pph. 1862), p. 22; Federal Cases, 25. 213; 2 Cranch, C. C., 75 (U. S. *vs.* Butler, 1812). Federal Cases, 26. 17; 3 Cranch, C. C., 681 (U. S. *vs.* Gray, 1829).

[2] Dorsey: "Laws of Maryland," p. 564.

[3] 1 Va. Cases, 184. Commonwealth *vs.* Dolly Chapple.

[4] 5 Rand. 660. Com. *vs.* Wm. Carver.

[5] Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, 515.

[6] 1 Bibb, 536. Redding *vs.* Hall, etc.

[7] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," 239; 2 Hawks, 582. State *vs.* Hale.

in the lower court, though judgment was reversed on appeal. Judge Ruffin, the appellate judge, in giving his opinion, lamented such cases, saying that there was in his mind a struggle between the feelings of a man and the duty of a magistrate. The decision was made on the ground that the hirer became the owner in the eyes of the law.[1]

Just what were the legal rights of a master over his slave was a subject of controversy among writers of the time. Stroud stated [2] that the master might "at his discretion inflict any species of punishment upon the person of his slave." Wheeler denied [3] this statement, but he relied for his arguments almost altogether on cases where the offender was other than the owner, and himself quoted Judge Ruffin of North Carolina, who said that the state had no right to interfere between the owner and his slave. The available decisions warrant the conclusion that while the master had legally full power over his slave, at least up to the point of depriving him of life, and the state had no legal right to interfere, yet in cases of extreme cruelty it had such a right to interfere as would belong to it in cases of cruelty to dumb animals, and but little, if any, more.[4]

The rareness of conviction for cruelty is due not only to this feeling of the complete power of the owner, but also to the inability of slaves to testify against their masters, and the fact that a white person was rarely present on such occasions. A slaveholder in Spottsylvania, Virginia, was in 1822 fined $300 for "cruelly and unmercifully whipping his own slave," [5] and in Pensacola, Florida, in 1829, a man was prosecuted for cruelty to his female slave, and sentenced to pay $100 and costs.[6] In the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia a decision in 1823 stated that "to cruelly, inhumanely, and maliciously cut, slash, beat, and ill-treat one's own slave, is an indictable offence at common law." [7]

[1] Wheeler, p. 244. State *vs.* Mann.

[2] Stroud: "Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery," 1st edition, 1827, p. 35; edition of 1856, p. 55.

[3] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 200, note.

[4] See 5 Randolph, 680. Com. *vs.* Rich. Turner, where the statement is made that the master could not be indicted for malicious beating of his own slave, except where such was committed on a public highway, or some place similarly public; and then only on the general ground of disturbance of the peace. Such beating is there distinctly paralleled to horsebeating.

[5] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* 10. 43.

[7] Federal Cases, 24. 1241; 2 Cranch, C. C., 441. U. S. *vs.* Brockett.

Under the constitution of Mississippi passed in 1817, the owner was compelled to care for his slaves, "to abstain from all injuries to them extending to life and limb," under penalty of having the slaves sold by the state.[1] The same was true with regard to the constitution [2] of Alabama of 1819. These provisions were not self-executing, however, and did not prevent cruelty.

As to the actual killing of an unresisting slave, there was little difference of opinion; the act was criminal, though the penalty varied in kind and amount, and indictments were in many, perhaps in most cases, made under the common law.[3] Yet even here there was a distinction made, in many cases, between the owner and the stranger. In Virginia, in 1827, in the trial of a man for shooting a slave not his own, the verdict against the defendant seems based on the fact that the slave was not his. "Whatever powers our laws may give to a master over his slave, it is as important for the interest of the former, as for the safety of the latter, that a stranger should not be permitted to exercise an unrestrained and lawless authority over him." [4] In the Supreme Court of Tennessee, in a similar case, the opinion was that "the felonious slaying of a slave without malice is manslaughter." [5] A number of cases are quoted to prove it not punishable, but the statement is clearly made that the master has no right over the life of his slave. In North Carolina, in 1823, in a trial for the murder of a slave, there was a difference of opinion between the justices. Judge Henderson, in giving the opinion of the majority, said that the life of the slave was in no way placed in the power of the owner.[6] In Mississippi, in 1820, a decision was rendered that murder might be committed by the killing of a slave as well as of freemen, and that the rights of the master were only those conferred by positive law.[7] This is diametrically opposed to an opinion in Tennessee in 1829, where Judge Whyte declared that by the former law of nations the master had unlimited power over the life of his slave; that now municipal law had abridged this power, but the masters retained all powers not expressly taken away.[8]

1 Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, p. 34.
2 Art. Slaves, § 3 (Code of Ala., 1896, vol. ii.).
3 2 Hawks (N. C.), 454. State *vs.* Reed, 1823.
4 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 254. Com. *vs.* Carver; opinion of Brockenbrough.
5 *Ibid.* pp. 255, 259, 262; 1 Yerger, 156. Fields *vs.* The State.
6 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," pp. 210, 211. State *vs.* Reed.
7 Walker, 83. State *vs.* Isaac Jones.
8 Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 255. Field *vs.* The State of Tenn.

In a great majority of instances it is impossible to determine the status of the murderer of the slave, whether the master or another, and it is very likely that in all such cases there was no distinction made. A long argument in the Supreme Court of Mississippi in 1820, based on the question whether slaves were "chattels" or "persons" is concluded by the decision that "murder may be committed by the killing of a slave, as well as by the killing of a freeman," the decisive argument being, apparently, that since by law slaves could commit crimes they must be considered rational beings.[1]

The penalty for the killing of a slave, whether a deliberate murder or killing in sudden heat or passion, was in many states, at least in the early days, merely imprisonment and a money fine. In 1822 a man in South Carolina was fined heavily for killing a slave.[2] In the same year the "Genius" quotes from other papers comments on the fact that in Virginia a mere nominal fine was imposed for the same offence.[3] In a South Carolina case in 1817, killing a negro in heat and passion made every one convicted of participation individually liable for the whole penalty, which was a fine.[4] In North Carolina a law punished the wilful and malicious killing of a slave with death, even for the first offence,[5] and one of the few cases of the execution of a white man for the murder of a negro occurred in Raleigh, in that state, in 1820. Great efforts were made to save the murderer, but the Governor, from a sense of duty, was inflexible.[6] In South Carolina a similar law was passed in 1821, assigning to deliberate murder the penalty of death without benefit of clergy, and to killing in sudden heat and passion a fine not exceeding $500 and imprisonment for not more than six months.[7] The constitution of 1819 in Alabama assigned to any malicious killing or dismembering of a slave "such punishment as would be inflicted in case a like offence had been committed on a free white person, and on the like proof."[8] The same provisions are found in the constitution of Missouri of 1825.[9]

[1] Wheeler: "Law of Slavery," p. 252. The State of Miss. *vs.* Jones.
[2] 2 McCord, 483. State *vs.* Wm. H. Taylor.
[3] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 1. 193; 2. 32. It was also commented on by a Virginia paper, and later by an Ohio paper.
[4] 1 Nott & McCord, 13. State *vs.* Smith & Smith.
[5] Haywood: "Manual of Laws," 1819, pp. 530, 548.
[6] Niles' Weekly Register, 19. 208.
[7] Statutes at Large, 6. 158 (David J. McCord, 1839).
[8] Constitution, Art. Slaves, § 3.
[9] Constitution, Art. III, § 28.

Yet with all this body of law the punishment of death was rarely inflicted on a white man for the murder of a slave. It was hard to get legal proof, since the slave could not testify, and in many cases acts were considered to be legal provocation when coming from a slave, which would not be so considered if done by a white man. In the case of the murder of a slave by a stranger, evidence of the general good character of a slave was admissible to repel such presumption.[1] Damages for killing a slave in Alabama, laid by the Superior Court, were removed in 1820 on appeal to the Supreme Court on a question of law.[2] There seems, however, no question of slavery involved in this particular case. It was held in South Carolina in 1818 that a man not clothed with authority of law to arrest a slave as a felon (in this case a neighbor of the owner), could not lawfully kill the slave,[3] but there is at least a question whether this was not a mere question of property, since the compensation in case of such killing was to be paid to the owner. In the same year the court decided it not lawful to kill a runaway, unless the intending captor was in danger from his resistance.[4]

Servile insurrection was always considered a justification of homicide, the words "except in case of insurrection" being inserted in nearly every law forbidding the killing of slaves. The only insurrection between 1808 and 1830 was the one commonly known as the Denmark Vesey Insurrection.[5] This seems, according to contemporary witness,[6] to have been an extensive and well conceived plot, with great prospect of success. When found out, the greatest efforts were made to find all the participants, and many of the leaders were executed. A pamphlet report[7] by the justices who conducted the investigation, and the trials of the suspects, throws considerable light upon the matter and upon the conduct of such trials in general. They assign as the reason for publishing their report that as the public was not admitted to the trials the reports circulated were very imperfect and many desires were expressed

[1] 1 Dev. (N. C.), 345. Pierce *vs.* Meyrick.
[2] Minor's Rep. 1. 8.
[3] 1 Nott & McCord, 182. Witsell *vs.* Earnest & Parker.
[4] Const. (Mill) Rep., 2. 314. Arthur *vs.* Wells.
[5] One or two are referred to in some contemporary writings, but not with sufficient exactness of detail to be of any service.
[6] Niles' Weekly Register, 22. 320, 352; 23. 9–12, 17, 18, 64.
[7] Quotations are from a pamphlet copy of the official report in the Boston (Mass.) Public Library. 8 pp. of this are missing; see especially, Introd. pp. iii, iv, vi, vii; and report, pp. 22. 41, 43.

for a fuller account. That which followed is certified to be entirely complete.

The court was composed of five freeholders and two justices, with no jury. They adopted rules allowing counsel for the accused, and requiring either two witnesses or one witness supported by other evidence to convict of capital crime. The general public was not admitted; only the owners of the slaves accused, and other slaves held as witnesses. The reason for this privacy was not only the fear of failure to detect the remainder of the plot, but also the safety of the witnesses. An account of the insurrection is given in full. It was considered noteworthy that a colored church, with regularly ordained ministers, meeting without whites, was the center for the perfecting of the conspiracy, and that all the leaders but one were of exceptionally good character, and especially indulged and privileged, while that one was not of bad character. The justices could not conceive of any reason why one of the leaders should enter the plot, unless he told the truth when he testified that he wished his children to be free.

The passage of the South Carolina Colored Seamen's Act in 1822 was the cause of much debate both in the North and in the South. No court decisions have been found bearing on the subject, and not much newspaper criticism of the time.[1] It was declared to be unconstitutional by almost all authorities. Indeed Lundy claimed that the Governor of South Carolina was not only aware that this was the case, but recommended the alteration of the Constitution of the United States so as to admit of such a law, in accordance with the Constitution![2]

The subject of "inflammatory pamphlets" was also mentioned clearly in the South at this time. The primary cause of the Denmark Vesey Insurrection was considered to be the bringing of "pamphlets of an insurrectionary character" to Charleston from the North, and it was remarked that in 1809 the black steward of the ship Minerva brought such pamphlets, was arrested, and would have

[1] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 2. 153; 4. 35, 67, etc.; Niles' Weekly Register, 24. 31; 25. 12 (from the New York Daily Advertiser); 28. 276. There was at least one case which came before a court, in 1822 or 1823, where the colored seaman was a British subject. But no records have been found outside of the papers quoted above, and the statement in the Minutes of the American Convention, for 1823, p. 12, that several citizens of Pennsylvania had been imprisoned by its means. The trials were doubtless in the lower courts, of which no record is preserved.

[2] The Genius of Universal Emancipation, 4. 35.

been tried for his life, had he not agreed to leave the state and never return.[1] But it is hard to determine what "inflammatory pamphlets" were in existence in 1809 or 1822, which could have had a circulation among the slaves. The few essays and articles on immediate emancipation already noted, or the reports of the American Convention, or the Genius of Universal Emancipation (in 1822) would not seem entitled to that name, nor were they intended to be read by the slaves.

The laws affecting free negroes at the South were in general the same as those under which the slaves were governed, though they had more liberty and protection in some states and under some circumstances. Their protection from reënslavement has already been considered.[2] In Louisiana it was held in 1809 that while the marriage of slaves had no civil effect during their slavery, it did, from the moment of their emancipation, produce all the effects which result from the same contract between whites.[3] The rule that no slave could witness against a free black or freeborn mulatto, but that free blacks were competent witnesses against free blacks, has already been discussed.[4] In cases involving free negroes and whites the free negro was usually given the right to testify. In 1813 it was declared in the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia that a freeborn mulatto was a competent witness against a white person.[5] This was allowed in 1814 in Maryland,[6] and again still later.[7] In the District of Columbia, in 1808, freeborn negroes were declared competent witnesses in all cases, color alone being no objection to a witness.[8] This principle was reaffirmed in 1810 in regard to cases of freedom.[9] In 1821 the Circuit Court decided that a colored man, who had resided in the District of Columbia eight years, had publicly acted as a free man, and was generally so reputed, was a competent witness against a free colored person, without further proofs of freedom.[10]

Free persons of color in South Carolina were deemed in 1826

1 Pamphlet report of the trial, p. 18, note.
2 See above, pp. 233–235.
3 6 Mart., 559. Girod *vs.* Lewis.
4 For cases in point and apparent contradictions, see above, p. 241.
5 Federal Cases, 25. 896; 2 Cranch, C. C., 94. U. S. *vs.* Douglass.
6 3 Har. & John., 491. Spriggs *vs.* Negro Mary.
7 Slavery Code in D. C. (1862), p. 22, note; 1 Cranch, C. C., 370. Minchin *vs.* Docker.
8 Federal Cases, 27. 20; 1 Cranch, C. C., 517. U. S. *vs.* Mullany.
9 Federal Cases, 20. 130; 2 Cranch, C. C., 3. 1. Queen *vs.* Hepburn.
10 Federal Cases, 27. 79; 2 Cranch, C. C., 241. U. S. *vs.* Neale.

capable of holding real estate,[1] and were in 1823 admitted [2] to the benefit of the "Prison Bounds Act." A law in Mississippi in 1829 provided for the care of children of poor free negroes and mulattoes. They were to be taken and bound out in the same way, and under the same conditions, as the poor white children of the state.[3]

[1] Harper, 2nd. edition, 495. Real Estate of Mrs. Hardcastle, *ads.* Porcher &c.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 5. Rodgers *vs.* Norton.
[3] Hutchinson's (Miss.) Code, p. 303.

CHAPTER XXII

CONCLUSION

THOUGH the evidence analyzed in the foregoing pages proves the existence of a strong anti-slavery sentiment both in the North and in the South during the period between 1808 and 1831 which is commonly called the "period of stagnation," it is difficult to calculate the effective strength of this sentiment, or to determine how far it was a preparation for the livelier anti-slavery era after 1831. The settlement of these questions is made the harder by the violent antagonisms aroused in both the North and the South by the thirty years' struggle which culminated in the war of 1861–1865. Long after the actual contest was over many of the leaders of the anti-slavery workers still belabored each other, each accusing the other of failing to effect a peaceable settlement, and of being the real cause of the alienation of the two sections of the country.

The one word which characterizes the anti-slavery thought before 1830 is "gradualism." A few apostles of immediate emancipation before Garrison made as strong a denunciation of slavery and as earnest an appeal for the immediate abandonment of the evil as any which he or his followers uttered, but theirs was not the attitude of the majority. Although friends and descendants claim many in this era as among the immediate emancipationists, little or nothing of their work now remains, and the very evidence of their supposed attitude is common report.

Perhaps the most unexpected thing about the movement during these years is that the South was indubitably the leader, and the larger force. New England had little to do with the anti-slavery struggle before Garrison; it became almost free itself, and was separated from the true South by three large states which were also becoming free. Perhaps it was natural that the New Englanders should concern themselves little with things far beyond their borders; especially since to distance was added the natural differences between the people of the sections, and the jealousy which already

showed itself on many points. Having so long nodded and napped, when the New Englanders at last fully awoke they could not realize that in other parts of the country the awakening had come earlier, or indeed that others had never been asleep.

In New York and Pennsylvania the conditions were different; they were nearer the slave states, and in both a political and geographical sense held a middle ground between the commercial states of New England and the agricultural states of the South. The anti-slavery societies in these states were among the first in the country; among the most active during the entire period of their existence; and among those who brought their organization and their personnel in large measure into the later anti-slavery movement. So far as these states were concerned there was never a break in the anti-slavery struggle; before 1808 they strove for the abolition of the slave trade; after 1808 they took up a different line of work, the emancipation and education of the negroes already in the country; and after 1831 they accepted new conditions and new allies in their war against the common enemy.

A very large proportion of the reputed immediate emancipationists were in Illinois and Ohio, notably in the southern portion of the latter state, where their nearness to actual slavery, and the almost constant passing of fugitive slaves, kept them interested. In these states, as well as in New York and in Pennsylvania, there was no break in the chain of efforts for the freedom of the slave, and a large proportion of the Ohio leaders in the movement headed by Garrison could trace their anti-slavery exertions to a period long before 1831, or could claim for themselves an ancestry noted for abolition tendencies.

In the South the societies were more numerous, the members no less earnest, and the hatred of slavery no less bitter in the later than in the earlier part of the period under discussion. Whether they could have been kept in line had the same spirit actuated the North in the period after 1831 as before, and whether thus the final victory of liberty could have been more easily and quickly won, is more than can now be established. The spirit of antagonism in anti-slavery circles was a new thing in 1831, and may have had at the South a great influence against abolition. Yet the conciliation and persuasion so noticeable in the earlier period in twenty years accomplished practically nothing either in legislation or in the edu-

cation of public sentiment; while gradual changes in economic conditions at the South caused the question to grow more difficult. The slaves in most slave states bore a steadily increasing ratio to the entire population; and the agriculture of the section was more and more put upon them. Even had the force of public sentiment been the same, it would have been less easy to emancipate the slaves in 1831 than in 1808.

Yet sectional jealousy, and "delicacy" on the subject of slavery do not seem to have animated the mass of the Southern people before 1831. Some of the slave owners, either more sensitive to varying shades of public opinion, or more far-sighted than their neighbors, detected very early the germ of that abolition tendency which finally alienated the entire South, and sounded the note of alarm. Of this class were Turnbull, author of "The Crisis," Benton, and other writers and speakers of more or less note. Others, looking in a different direction, saw the weighty evils which might come from a continuance of slavery, and plead for emancipation before it was too late. Among such men, quoted in the preceding pages, were Raymond of Baltimore and Swaim of North Carolina.

Gradual emancipation alone found any real support at the South, although some of the writers in favor of immediate emancipation came from that section. Many of the slaveholders felt that their position would become difficult, and perhaps untenable, because of the steadily increasing number of slaves, which in some states already outnumbered the whites. Many of them were willing to forego future profit from their slaves, if it must involve such risk, but could not make the sacrifice of giving up the slaves they then held. Immediate emancipation did not seem to meet their requirements, since it touched the property of the men who were then in the direction of public affairs, and suddenly overturned their preconceived notions and ingrained habits. Beyond these difficulties, it seemed destined to bring upon them suddenly, and without remedy, the very evils they were trying to avoid, by turning loose among them a people whose insurrection and domination they began to fear; a mass of ignorant and half-tamed savages, presumably ready to avenge wrongs to their race if not wrongs to their persons.

Those who up to this time had contended for the righteousness of slavery, or at least for its necessity to the South, a need with which

the other sections of the country had no concern, were naturally aroused to opposition by the fact that the free states were clamoring for the abolition of a sort of property that they did not possess; and urged voluntary poverty upon the South in ways which did not in the least affect their own pockets. Even those in the South who had wished for the overthrow of slavery might in many cases have been silenced when it became clear that the abolitionists advocated that emancipation be forced upon the South without their consent, and against the judgment of very many of the people on the spot, who believed that the measure would give to the quondam slaves few of the advantages hoped for, while it would be dangerous to the very lives of the whites in the slave states. Sectional jealousy thus took the place of the common union against the evil which seems the chief characteristic of the period 1808–1831.

Unless some preparation for a new issue was making during the twenties the effect of Garrison's trumpet call for immediate and unconditional emancipation was miraculous. Both the violent attacks on slavery by the North, and on abolition by the South were like explosions caused by a train laid beforehand. We can see traces of this growing sectional hostility in the Missouri struggle, when politics as well as society divided on the question of freedom and slavery, and the division of North and South was for the first time clearly marked on slavery issues.

The period from 1808 to 1831 was in reality a two-fold preparation for militant abolitionism. First, those who opposed slavery were kept awake, educated, and made ready for the forward movement; the arguments against slavery were carefully worked out, and the training of many later writers began; certain forms of gradual attack upon the institution were tried, and their value tested; and the slight organization of the more earnest anti-slavery advocates made it easy for them to give their adherence to the later societies. In the second place, those who cherished slavery were put gradually on the defensive, by the foes within their own borders, and later by those without. At the same time, the Southern anti-slavery men were apparently alienated by what they thought the intolerance of their Northern associates.

APPENDIX A

NAMES MENTIONED IN CONNECTION WITH ANTI-SLAVERY, 1808–1831[1]

I. Officers of Anti-Slavery Societies, and Delegates to the American Convention[2]

Albertson, Benjamin, Pa., 1817–1821.
Allen, John, Md., 1826.
Allen, Moses, O., 1826.
Allen, Paul, Md., 1825.
Allinson, William, N. J., 1809.
Alricks, Jacob, Del., 1817.
Ammidon, Otis, R. I., 1823–1825.
Anderson, Robert P., D. C., 1828–1829.
Atkinson, Samuel C., Pa., 1827.
Atlee,[3] Dr. Edwin A., Pa., 1821.
*Atlee,[3] Dr. Edwin P., Pa., 1825–1829.
Atmore,[4] Marshall, Pa., 1827–1829.
Bacon, John, Pa. (?), 1809.
Bacon, Leonard, Conn., 1825–?
Baker, William, Pa., 1823.
Balderston, John P., Md., 1827.
Baldwin, Charles E., Md., 1827.
Baldwin, William, Pa., 1826.
Barker, Abraham, N. Y., 1809.
Barron, Henry, D. C., 1827–1829.
Barrow, David, Ky., 1816–1821.
Bartlett, Wm. E., Md., 1828.
*Barton, Isaac, Pa., 1821–1829.
Bartram, Wm. Shipley, Pa., 1829.
Beecher, Edward, Conn., 1825–?
*Benson, George, R. I., 1821.

[1] These lists are not intended to be either exhaustive or authoritative. To have made them so would have been impossible without more work than their value would warrant. They are lists of such names as have come up in the study, and been taken down for one reason or another. No names have been taken from a single secondary authority; and but very few even where two or more secondary writers agree on naming them. Nearly all are from the "Genius," the reports of the American Convention, or from published writings or speeches of the individual named. No authority is assumed for the spelling of the names, since a name manifestly the same has been found with several different spellings. The more probable has been taken, and in some cases both are mentioned.

The purpose of the list is merely to give a slight idea of the numbers engaging in the work, since the names found must be only a small fraction, even of the prominent workers, and to give to those who may find in them the name of some one known to them an idea of the character of the men engaged in such labors during this period.

[2] These represent nearly all the delegates to the Convention, but only a small proportion of the officers of the societies, since not all the societies sent reports of their officers at any time, and but few to every meeting of the Convention, while other workers might have been prominent in the years between the Conventions, even in those societies where the reports were sent most frequently. Those names preceded by a * are mentioned in the early reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but are not, we must be sure, the names of all who passed from the old societies into the new. The states are placed in each case after the name, and the first and last date in which some mention of the man in connection with an anti slavery society was found. It is assumed that they were active during the entire period covered by the two dates, even where no record is found.

[3] Several times spelt AtLee.

[4] Once spelt Attmore.

Binney, Horace, Pa., 1821.
Blunt, Joseph, N. Y., 1827.
Bond, Robert, Va., 1827–1828.
Bosworth, Josiah, D. C., 1828–1829.
Bouvier, John, Pa., 1827–1829.
Bowdle, T., Md., 1826.
Bowne, Robert H., N. Y., 1809.
Bowne,[1] Thos. P., N. Y., 1826–1827.
Bracken, B. W., Del., 1827.
Brackett, Jos. Warren, N. Y., 1812.
Braden, Noble S., Va., 1827.
Brazelton, Wm., Tenn., 1825.
Breckinridge,[2] Robert J., Ky., 1830.
Brewer, Anson L., O., 1827.
Brian, James, Del., 1817.
Briggs, Isaac, Del., 1817.
Bringhurst,[3] Joseph, Del., 1809–1823.
Brooks, Stephen, Tenn., 1821–1823.
Brown, D(avid), Md., 1827–1829.
Brown, David Paul, Pa., 1821–1827.
Brown, David S., N. Y., 1821–1827.
Brown, Goold, N. Y., 1821–1827.
Brown, Samuel, Va., 1828.
Brown,[4] Thos. P., N. Y., 1823–1825.
Brown, William, Pa., 1812.
Bryant, William, Pa., 1817–1821.
*Buffum, Arnold, R. I., 1823.
Bunner, Randolph, N. Y., 1809.
Bunting, Jacob T., Pa., 1821.
Burgess, Dyer, O., 1818.
Burke, F(rancis), D. C., 1828.

Caldwell, John, Tenn., 1824–1825.
Canaday, John, Tenn., 1814.
Canby, Charles, Del., 1827.
Carmalt, Caleb, Pa., 1821–1825.
Carroll, Joseph F., N. Y., 1823.
Chalmers, John, D. C., 1827–1828.
Chance, David, Ill., 1822.
Chandler, John, Jr., Pa., 1821–1823.
Chapman, Abraham, Pa., 1812–1817.
Chase, Borden, N. Y., 1827.
Clark, Benjamin, N. Y., 1817–1829.
Clark, John, Ill., 1822.
Clayland, Lambert, Md., 1817.
Clizbe,[5] Ira, N. Y., 1823–1827.
Coale, William E., Md., 1827–1828.
Coffin, Aaron, N. C., 1824–1825.
Coffin, Hector, R. I., 1825.
Coffin; Levi, N. C., 1817.
Colden, Cadwallader D., N. Y., 1809–1829.
Coleman, Sam., N. J., 1802.
Collins, Ben. S., N. Y., 1812.
Collins, Charles, N. Y., 1809.
Collins, Isaac, N. Y., 1817–1825.
Collins, Thomas, N. Y., 1809–1812.
Comstock, Nathan, N. Y., 1821.
Cooper, Amos, N. J., 1809.
Cope, Charles S., Pa., 1829.
Cope, Thos. P., Pa., 1809–1817.
Corlies,[6] Joseph, N. Y., 1821–1829.
Corlies, Joseph W., 1826–1827.
Cornelius, Sam., D. C., 1829.
Cornell, Robert C., N. Y., 1817–1829.
Corse, Barney, N. Y., 1825–1829.
Corse, Israel, N. Y., 1825–1828.
Coulson, John, Tenn., 1822–1825.
*Cox, Abram, N. Y., 1827.
Cox, James, Pa., 1821–1823.
Coxe, William, N. J., 1809.
Crandell, John, D. C., 1829.
Cresson, B., Pa., 1817.
Cromwell, John J., N. Y., 1812.
Crow, John F., Ky., 1821–1823.
Cummings, James, Tenn., 1825.
Curlies,[7] Joseph, N. Y., 1829.
Curtis, Joseph, N. Y., 1817–1829.

Dallam, William, Md., 1828.
Darnell, Rev. Henry, Ky., 1621.
Davenport, Franklin, N. J., 1809.
Davenport, Joseph, Md., 1828.
Davis, Benjamin, Ky., 1821.

[1] Possibly Brown?
[2] Signed paper in 1830 calling for a society in Ky., which had no real result. See text.
[3] Given in 1809 as Jr. Probably the same man.
[4] Possibly Bowne?
[5] Spelt also Clisbe.
[6] Spelt also Corleis and Corles.
[7] Is this a misprint for Curtis?

Davis, D. J., Pa., 1817.
Dawes, Joseph C., D. C., 1827–1829.
Dawes, Joseph C., Md., 1828.
Day, Mahlon, N. Y., 1825–1828.
Deane, Levi, Ill., 1822.
Delaney, William L., Pa., 1809–1817.
Denboer, Nicholas, Md., 1827.
Dickson, George, Ill., 1822.
Dixon, Isaac, Del., 1815.
Doan, Thomas, Tenn., 1821–1825.
Donnell, Samuel, Esq., Ky., 1821.
Downing, James, Ill., 1822.
Drinker, George, D. C., 1829.
Duer, John, N. Y., 1829.
Duncan, E., Jr., Ky., 1822.
Dwight, Theodore, N. Y., 1818–1826.

Eagleton, Elijah McKee, Tenn., 1825.
Earle, Thomas, Pa., 1821–1829.
Eastman, Jonathan, Md., 1825.
Eddy, Thomas, N. Y., 1809–1817.
Edwards, Samuel, Pa., 1821–1827.
Ellis, David, Pa., 1821–1827.
Elston, Andrew, N. J., 1809.
Ely,[1] Isaac M., N. Y., 1817–1826.
Emmett, Thos. Addis, N. Y., 1809–1826.
Evans, John, Pa., 1809.
Evans, Jos., Pa., 1823–1829.
Evans, R., Pa., 1829.
Ewen, Thomas, Jr., Pa., 1821.

Falconer, Samuel, N. Y., 1827.
Fawcett, Elisha, Va., 1827.
Fawcett, Josiah, Va., 1828.
Fell, Jonathan, Pa., 1817.
*Ferris, Benjamin, Del., 1823–1826.
Ferris, William L., N. Y., 1827.
Ferris, Ziba, Del., 1817.
Field, John, Jr., Pa., 1821.
Field, Richard, N. Y., 1827–1829.
Finley, William, Pa., 1827.
Fisher, George, Pa., 1809–1812.
Folwell, William, Jr., Pa., 1817.
Frame, William, Ky., 1821.
Franklin, Walter, Pa., 1809.
Frazer, Abner, Tenn., 1822.

Galbreath, James, Tenn., 1821–1822.
Gardner, Eph., Md., 1828.
Garrett, Thos., Jr., Del., 1823–1827.
Garrett, William, Tenn., 1825.
Gawthrop, George, Pa., 1823.
Gibbons, William, M. D., Del. 1817–1827.
Gilbert, E. W., Del., 1827.
Gillingham, George, Md., 1828.
Gilpin, Ed., Del., 1809.
Godwin, Henry M., Del., 1817.
Graham, John, Pa., 1827.
Gram, John, Pa., 1824.
Grant, J. D., Ky., 1821.
Gray, Asa, Tenn., 1825.
Greene,[2] David, Mass., 1826.
Griffith, William, Pa., 1826.
Grim, Jas. Oswald, N. Y., 1829.
Grubb, Sam. S., Del., 1827.
Guest, Job, D. C., 1828.

Hackney, Aaron, Tenn., 1825.
Hackney, James, Va., 1827.
Hackney, Joseph, Va., 1828.
Hale, Thos., N. Y., 1827–1829.
Hallowell, Ben., D. C., 1827.
Hallowell, John, Pa., 1809–1817.
Hallowell, William S., Pa., 1827.
Hamilton, Thos. M., Ill., 1822.
Hammer, Aaron, Tenn., 1825.
Hammer, Elisha, Tenn., 1825.
Hammer, Isaac, Tenn., 1821.
Hammond, Jabez D., N. Y., 1829.
Harrison, Thos., Pa., 1809–1812.
Harryman, David, Md., 1826–1828.
Hartshorne, Richard, N. J., 1807.
Hatch, Isaac, N. Y., 1827.
Haviland, Edmund, N. Y., 1827–1829.
Haydock, Henry, N. Y., 1827.

[1] Once given as Israel, and once J. M.
[2] Greene was a student in Andover Seminary. Nothing is known of his home.

Hazard, Rowland, R. I., 1821.
Hazard,[1] Thos., N. Y., 1821.
Hegerman, Adrian, N. Y., 1809.
Hemphill, Jos., Pa., 1809.
Henderson, John, Pa., 1821.
Hewlett, John Q., Md., 1828.
Hicks, Robert, N. Y., 1827.
Hicks, Sam., N. Y., 1809–1812.
Hicks, Willett, N. Y., 1809.
Higgins, Patrick, Ill., 1822.
Hilles, David, Pa., 1827.
Hilles, Eli, Del., 1821–1827.
Hilles, Sam., Del., 1817–1827.
Hilton, Dan., Ill., 1822.
Hilyard, Abraham, Pa., 1809–1812.
Hinchman, J., Pa., 1817.
Hines, Matthew, D. C., 1829.
Hoge, Thos., Tenn., 1823–1825.
Hollinshead, Ben. M., Pa., 1821.
Holmes, Christian, Va., 1828.
Holmes, William, Va., 1826–1828.
Hooks, John A., Tenn., 1825.
Hoopes, Isaac N., Md., 1826–1827.
Hopkins, James, Pa., 1821–1827.
Hopkins, Jos. R., Pa., 1809.
Hopkinson, Jos., Pa., 1809–1812.
Hopper, Isaac, Pa., 1827 (1795–1852).
Houston, James, Tenn., 1825.
Hubbard,[2] F. W., Mass., 1826.
Huffaker, Justice, Tenn., 1825.
Hughes, George, Md., 1825.
Hull, Oliver, N. Y., 1825.

Jackson, George, R. I., 1825.
Jackson, Isaac, Del., 1817–1821.
Jackson, Israel, Pa., 1821.
Jackson, William, Jr., Pa., 1821–1823.
Jacobs, Thomas, D. C., 1829.
Jacques, Gideon, M. D., Del., 1821–1823.
Janney, Daniel, Va., 1826–1828.
Janney, Jacob, D. C., 1828–1829.
Janney, Jonathan, D. C., 1829.
Janney, Sam. M., D. C., 1827–1829.
Jay, Peter A., N. Y., 1812–1829.
Jenks, Jos(eph) R., Pa., 1809.
Jenkins, Sylvanus, N. Y., 1812.
Jennings, Obadiah, Pa., 1824.
Johns, Abraham, Md., 1825.
Johnson, William, N. Y., 1809–1827.
Jones, Aquila, Md., 1827.
Jones, Isaiah, Tenn., 1821–1822.
Jones, James, Tenn., 1821–1828.
Jones, John, Del., 1809.
Jones, John T., Md., 1827.
Jones, Thomas, Tenn., 1825.
Jones, William, Pa., 1827–1829.
Jones, William R., Md., 1827–1829.

Keating, John, Jr., Pa., 1821–1823.
Kenworthy, Jesse, Pa., 1826–1827.
Kerr, David, Tenn., 1825.
Kesl(e)y, Rev. Wm., Md., 1826–1829.
Ketchum, Hiram, N. Y., 1821–1829.
Kinsey, Edmund, Pa., 1809–1812.
Kirk, William J., Pa., 1827.
Kite, Jos. S., Pa., 1821.

Lamborn, Jonathan, Del., 1817.
Lancaster, Moses, Pa., 1823.
Lawton, William, N. Y., 1827.
Lea, Joseph, Pa., 1817.
Lee, Ephraim, Tenn., 1825.
Leggett, Aaron, N. Y., 1826–1828.
Leggett, Reuben, N. Y., 1817.
Leggett, Thomas, Jr., N. Y., 1827.
Lemen, James, Ill., 1822.
Lemen, Josiah, Ill., 1822.
Lemen, Jos., Jr., Ill., 1822.
Lemen, Moses, Ill., 1822.
Levering, Thos., D. C., 1828–1829.
*Lewis, Evan, Del., 1817–1823; N. Y. 1827–1828. (Pa., 1833.)
Lewis, Jehu, Pa., 1827.
Lewis, Mordecai, N. Y., 1812.

[1] Thomas Hazard was a former resident of R. I. and member of the R. I. Society, hence a delegate from that society in 1821.

[2] Hubbard was a student at Williams College. Nothing is known of his home.

Lewis, William, Pa., 1809–1817.
Lilleston, John W., Ky., 1821.
Lockhart, Jesse, Tenn., 1814–1825.
Lowber, Dan., Del., 1809.
Lowber, John C., Pa., 1827.
Lower, Abraham, Pa., 1821.
Lundy, Benjamin, O., 1815; Tenn., 1823–1826; Md., 1827–1829.

Malcum, William, Tenn., 1825.
Mankin, Henry, Md., 1827–1828.
Markland, E. I., Md., 1828.
Marshall, Abraham, Pa., 1823.
Marshall, Abraham, Jr., Pa., 1821–1823.
Marshall, Abraham, Tenn., 1823.
Martin, Jos. D., Pa., 1809.
Martin, Moses, Ky., 1816–1821.
Mason, Sam., Jr., Pa., 1823–1827.
Master, William, Pa., 1809–1817.
Matthews, Joshua, Md., 1828.
Matthews, Sam., Md., 1826.
Matthews,[1] S. H., Md., 1828.
Matthews, Thomas, Md., 1828.
Maulsby, David, Tenn., 1814.
McClellan, Jos. B., Tenn., 1823.
McClelland, John, D. C., 1829.
McClintock, Thomas, Pa., 1827–1829.
McClure, Robert, Pa., 1826.
McCorkle, Francis H., Tenn., 1823.
McCormick, Hugh, N. Y., 1821–1823.
McCormick, John, Pa., 1827.
McCoy, John, Pa., 1825.
McCoy, John C., Ky., 1821.
McGirr, William, Pa., 1826.
McGuire, Samuel, Ill., 1822.
McLeod, John, D. C., 1829.
McNees, Samuel, Tenn., 1825.
Megear, Michael, Del., 1821.
Mendenhall, Eli, Del., 1809.
Mendenhall, Richard, N. C., 1824–1828.
Meyers, Sam., D. C., 1828.
Michener, Ezra, M. D., Pa., 1821–1823.
Mifflin, Joseph, Pa., 1818.
Mifflin, Warner, Del., 1817.
Milnor, James, Pa., 1809–1812.
Mitchell, Sam. L., N. Y., 1809.
Montgomery, James, Ky., 1821.
Moore, Ben. P., Md., 1828.
Moore, John, Tenn., 1823.
Moore, Jos., Pa., 1809–1812.
Moore, Lindley M., N. Y., 1821.
Moore, Robert, Md., 1817.
Moore, Wm. M., Md., 1817.
Morgan, John, Tenn., 1814.
Morgan, William H., Md., 1827–1829.
Morrell, Elisha, N. Y., 1809.
Morris, Lewis, Pa., 1826.
Morris, Matthias, Pa., 1821–1827.
Mott, James, Pa., 1823–1829.
Mott, Richard, Jr., N. Y., 1827–1829.
Mott, Robert F., N. Y., 1821–1825.
Mott, William F., N. Y., 1827.
Mott, William W., N. Y., 1823–1827.
Munro, Peter Jay, N. Y., 1812.
Munro,[2] Peter Say, N. Y., 1809.
Murphy, Robert, Pa., 1821–1829.
Murray, James, Pa., 1821.
Murray,[1] James W., Pa., 1821–1823.
Murray, John, Jr., N. Y., 1809–1817.

Neal, R. H., D. C., 1827.
Neale, James, Md., 1817.
Needles, Edward, Pa., 1817–1823; Md., 1825.
Needles, John, Md., 1825–1829.
Newbold, George, N. Y., 1809–1829.
Newbold, Joshua, N. J., 1812.
Newbold, William, N. J., 1809.
Newlin, Cyrus, Del., 1809.
Newport, Jesse W., Pa., 1827.
Nicholson, L., Pa., 1817.
Nicols, S., Del., 1809.

[1] Is this the same as the one preceding?
[2] Probably as the one just preceding?

Noble, Charles, Pa., 1829.
Norris,[1] Joseph P., Pa., 1823–1827.

Ogle, Benjamin, Ill., 1822.
Osborn, Charles, Tenn., 1814; N. C., 1816.
Osborn, I., Tenn., 1823.
Owen, T., Jr., Pa., 1817.

Palmer, Aaron H., N. Y., 1809.
Palmer, James, N. Y., 1821–1826.
Pardoe, John, Tenn., 1825.
Parker, Joseph, Pa., 1809–1829.
Parker, Thos., Pa., 1809–1817.
Parker, Thos., Jr., Pa., 1827–1829.
Parrish, Dr. Jos., Pa., 1817–1829.
Parvin, Ben. C., Pa., 1817–1821.
Passy, John, Md., 1825.
Patterson, Rob., Pa., 1809–1812.
Paul, Joseph M., Pa., 1812–1827.
Paxon, Sam., N. J., 1812.
Paxson, Tim., Pa., 1809–1817.
Paxson, Wm. P., Pa., 1821.
Pearson, Isaac, Pa., 1809–1812.
Pennock, Abraham L., Pa., 1817–1829.
Pennock, Ben. J., M. D., Pa., 1823.
Pepper, Henry I., Del., 1821-1823.
Peters, Richard, Jr., Pa., 1817–1821.
Peterson, George, Pa., 1627–1829.
Phillipps, Sol., Pa., 1826.
Phipps, Thos., Pa., 1809–1817.
Pickering, Ellis, Tenn., 1825.
Pickering, Enos, Tenn., 1825.
Pidgeon, Isaac, Va., 1828.
Pierce, — —, Pa., 1827.
Pierce, Isaac, Del., 1827.
Pierce, John, Md., 1825.
Pike, Stephen, Pa., 1809.
Plummer, Thos. G., Md., 1825.
Poole, William, Del., 1809–1817.
Porter, Robert, Del., 1827.
Post, Henry, Jr., N.Y., 1809.
Potter, Thos. M., N. J., 1809.
Potts, John., N. J., 1809.
Preston, David, Md., 1828.
Preston, Jonas, Pa., 1821–1829.
Preston, Mahlon, Pa., 1823.
Price, Ben., Pa., 1821–1823.
Price, Jos., Pa., 1809–1812.
Price, Mahlon C., Md., 1826.
Price, Philip, Jr., Pa., 1817–1823.
Pryce, William, Del., 1809.
Pulliam, James, Ill., 1822.
Pusey, Lea, Pa., 1821–1823; Del., 1827.

Quarles, John, Md., 1827.

*Rankin,[2] John, Tenn., 1814; Ky., 1821.
Rawle, William, Pa., 1809–1829.
Rawle, William, Jr., 1821–1827.
Raymond, Daniel, Md., 1825–1829.
Reed, Walker, Pa., 1809.
Reese, John S., Md., 1826–1829.
Reynolds, John, Del., 1809–1827.
Reynolds, William, N. C., 1829.
Richards, William P., Del., 1827.
Ridgeway, Thos., Pa., 1827–1829.
Robbins, Willet, N. Y., 1812.
Roberts, William, Tenn., 1825.
Roberts, William, Tenn., 1825.
Rogers, Thos., Pa., 1809–1812.
Ross, John, Pa., 1817.
Ross, Samuel, Pa., 1829.
Rowland, Jos. G., Del., 1817–1827.
Rowland, Jos. W., Pa., 1823–1827.
Rulon, Ben., N. J., 1809.
Rush, Dr. Ben., Pa., 1809–1812.
Rush, Richard, Pa., 1809–1812.

Sadd,[3] J. M., Mass., 1826.
Sampson, William, N. Y., 1817–1823.

[1] Possibly Morris.

[2] Rankin was in Ky. from 1817–1821, and in Ohio from 1821–1865. A man of the name is mentioned as from N. Y. in 1833.

[3] Sadd was a student at Williams College. Nothing is known of his home.

Sanford, Nathan, N. Y., 1812.
Sawyer, Walter, N. Y., 1817.
Scholfield, David, O., 1827.
Scrivener, John, D. C., 1828.
Seal, William, Del., 1809–1827.
Seaman, Valentine, N. Y., 1809–1817.
Seaman, Willet, N. Y., 1812–1827.
Sergeant, John, Pa., 1812–1827.
Sharp, George, Va., 1827.
Sharpless, Blakey, Pa., 1821.
Sharpless, Townsend, Pa., 1821.
Shaw, Alex., Pa., 1817–1823.
Sheppard, Allen, N. Y., 1809.
Sheppard, Sam. C., Pa., 1829.
Sherwood, Isaac, N. Y., 1827.
*Shipley, Thos., Pa., 1817–1829.
Shook, Samuel, Ill., 1822.
Shotwell, Gilbert, N. Y., 1812.
Shortwell, Harvey, N. Y., 1827.
Sitgreaves, Sam., Pa., 1827.
Sliver, Abraham, Md., 1828.
Slocum, William T., N. Y., 1809.
Slosson,[1] William, N. Y., 1809–1827.
Smith, Charles, Pa., 1817.
Smith, D., Va., 1826–1828.
Smith, Dan. (G.), Pa., 1809–1821.
Smith, Isaac, Tenn., 1825.
Smith, James, Pa., 1821.
Smith, Nathan, Pa., 1809–1812.
Smith, Sam., Pa., 1809–1812.
Smith, W. R., Pa., 1823.
Stackhouse, Powell, Pa., 1827–1829.
Stanley, Jesse, Pa., 1827–1829.
Stanton, Benjamin, O., 1827.
Starr, Isaac H., Del., 1809.
Stearns, Dr. John, Pa., 1821–1827.
Stier, Fred., Md., 1825–1826.
Stone, William L., N. Y., 1826–1829.
Stratton, N. Willis, Md., 1827.
Stuart, Zimri, N. C., 1825–1829.
Summers, James, Md., 1825.
Swaim, Benjamin, N. C., 1826–1830.
Swaim, Moses, N. C., 1816–1826.
Swaim, William, N. C., 1826–1830.
Swain, Elihu, Tenn., 1814.
Swain, John, Tenn., 1814–1823.
Swayne, William, Pa., 1821–1823.
Symmes, Austin, Ill., 1822.

Tarrant, Carter, Ky., 1811.
Taylor, Ben. F., Va., 1826–1827.
Taylor, Henry S., Va., 1825–1826.
Taylor, Yardley, Va., 1825–1826.
Temple, Sol., Pa., 1821–1826.
Terry, Stephen, Ill., 1822.
Thomas, John, Ky., 1811.
Thompson, Jeremiah, N. Y., 1812–1821.
Thompson, Jonah, Pa., 1817.
Thomson, J. I., Md., 1827.
Thorn, Isaac, Ky., 1825.
Titus, Michael M., N. Y., 1826–1829.
Titus, Peter S., N. Y., 1827.
Todhunter, Joshua, Pa., 1827–1829.
Townsend, Charles, Pa., 1809–1812.
Troth, Henry, Pa., 1817–1829.
Truman, Jos. M., Pa., 1821–1829.
Tucker, Ben., Pa., 1817–1829.
Tucker, Thos., N. Y., 1812–1817.
Tyson, Elisha, Md. (No definite dates.)
Twining, Alex., Conn., 1825.

Underhill, Ira B., N. Y., 1809.
Underhill, John, Tenn., 1814.
Underhill, Josh., N. Y., 1812–1826.

Vail, Eli, N. Y., 1826.
Valentine, Bond, Pa., 1823.
Van Hook, Isaac A., N. Y., 1809–1812.
Vaux, George, Pa., 1809.
Vaux, Roberts, Pa., 1809–1823.
Veitch, William, D. C., 1828.

Wadsworth, John, N. Y., 1812.
Wales, John, Del., 1821–1827.
Walker, Charles, N. Y., 1829.

[1] Once found Slosser.

Walker, Edward, Va., 1827.
Waln, Jacob S., Jr., Pa., 1809.
Walter, Edwin, Pa., 1829.
Ward,[1] John, N. Y., 1821.
Ward, Ulysses, D. C., 1829.
Ware, N. H., Md., 1827.
Waugh, Townshend, D. C., 1829.
Wayne, William, Pa., 1829.
Wayne, William, Jr., Pa., 1817.
Weatherly, David, Pa., 1827–1829.
Weaver, Amos, N. C., 1829–1830.
Webb, B., Del., 1817–1827.
Webb, Sam., Pa., 1817.
Wells, George, Tenn., 1822.
Wharton, William, Pa., 1829.
Wheeler, Rev. Charles, Pa., 1825–1827.
West, Amos, Md., 1828–1829.
White, Robert, N. Y., 1817–1821.
White, Wm. C., N. Y., 1826–1829.
Wickes, William, Del., 1817.
Wiley, Hugh, Ky., 1822.
Wilkinson, Francis, Pa., 1821.
Williams, Ben., Pa., 1809–1821.
Williams, Job M., O., 1826.
Williams, Zopa, Ill., 1822.
Willis, Jesse, Tenn., 1814.
Willis, John R., N. Y., 1825.
Willits, H., Pa., 1821.
Willits,[2] John H., Pa., 1821.
Willits, Sam., N. Y., 1823.
Wilson, Jas. J., 1809–1812.
Wilson, Jas. R., Pa., 1829.
Wilson, P. N., Tenn., 1823.
Wilson, Sam., Md., 1828.
Wistar, Caspar, Pa., 1815–1817.
Witsel, Henry, Del., 1823.
Wood, D. C., Pa., 1829.
Wood, Richard C., Pa., 1821.
Wood, Sam., N. Y., 1823.
Woods, W. W., Tenn., 1823.
Woolsey, Theodore, Conn., 1825.
Worrell, Edw., Del., 1817–1827.
Wright, Isaac, N. Y., 1827.
Wright, John B., N. Y., 1827.
Wright, Luther, Conn., 1825.
*Wright, Peter, Pa., 1821–1829.
Wright, Thos., Va., 1828.
Wright, William, Pa., 1818.

Young,[3] John C., Ky., 1830.

Zollickkoffer, Daniel, Md., 1827.
Zollickoffer, H. M., Pa., 1829.

II. Other Names found in Connection with Anti-Slavery

Adamson,[4] — —, S. C., 1825.
Allen, George R., — — .
Amphlett, William, Ohio (Eng.).
Asbury, Bishop Francis.
Austin, James T., Mass.

Bankson, A., Ill., 1823.
Bettle, Edward, Pa.
Birkbeck, Morris, Ill.
Birney, James G., Ky., Ala.
Blake, Francis.
Blake,[5] G., Mass.
Blakeman, Curtis, Ill., 1823.
Bourne, George, N. Y., (Va.?).
Branagan, Thomas.
Bristed, John., N. Y.
Bryan, Daniel, Va.
Buchanan, George.

[1] John Ward was a former resident of R. I. and member of the R. I. society. He was a delegate from that society in 1821.

[2] It seems possible for some reasons to think that the H. Willits above was a misprint for John H. Willits.

[3] Signed call for the meeting in Ky. in 1830.

[4] Shot in 1825, presumably for his anti-slavery tendencies.

[5] Signed the memorial in Mass. against further extension of slavery in Missouri which was quite anti-slavery.

Cairns, Abraham, Ill., 1823.
Caldwell, G., Ill., 1823.
Cameron, — —, Ky.
Campbell, Alex., Va., Ala., Tenn., O.
Carey, Matthew.
Chandler, E. M., Del.
Churchill, George, Ill., 1823.
Clark, John, Ill., 1823.
Coles, Edward, Ill.
Cook, Daniel P., Ill.
Cornish,[1] Samuel, N. Y.
Corwine, Amos, Ky., 1821.
Corwine, George, Ky., 1821.
Crothers, Rev. Samuel, Ky., O.
Cunshawe, — —, Va.
Cushman, Joshua, Maine.

Dickeys, The, of Ohio.
Doak, Samuel, Tenn., N. C.
Dodge, — —, Ky.
Dole, Ebenezer, Maine.
Duncan, James, Ky., Ind.
Dunlop, William, Ky., O.
Dupré, Lewis.
Dwight, Timothy, Conn.

Elliott, John, Pa.
Embree, Elihu, Tenn.
Emmett, John.
Evans, Estwick, N. H.
Evarts, Jeremiah.

Finlay, John, Md.
Flower, George, Ill.
Forten,[1] James, Pa.

Gallison,[2] John, Mass.
Garrignes, Samuel P.
Garrison, William Lloyd.
Gibbons, Daniel, Pa.
Gibbons, Joseph, Pa.
Gilliland, James, S. C., O.
Goodell, William, R. I.
Gross, Ezra C., N. Y.

Hale, E., Jr., Mass.
Hardin, William, 1821.
Hicks, Elias, N. Y.
Hoffman, Michael, N. Y.
Holman, Joseph, Ind.
Hopkinses, The, of Ohio.
Hopper, Isaac T., Pa.
Hunt, George, Ind.
Huskell.

Jarvis, S. T., Mass.
Jay, William, N. Y.
Jennings, Jonathan, Ind.

Kenrick, John.
King, Rufus.
Kinkade, William, Ill., 1823.
Kirkpatricks, The, of Ohio.
Knight, Henry C.

Lamb, Michael, Md.
Law, Thomas, D. C.
Lawton, James, O.
Leavitt, Joshua, Mass., N. Y., Conn.
Livermore, Edward, Mass.
Lockhart, Jesse, Tenn.
Lockwood, Samuel D., Ill.
Lowry, William, Ill., 1823.

Magaughy, John.
Mahan, Rev. Asa.
Mahan, Rev. John, O.
Mather, Thos., Ill., 1823.
Maxwell, William, Va.
McGahey, David, Ill., 1823.
McLane, Del., 1819.
McLean, Prof., N. J.
Meigs, Henry, N. Y.
Miner, Charles, Pa.
Minge, David, Va.

[1] A colored man.
[2] Signed the memorial in Mass. against further extension of slavery in Missouri which was quite anti-slavery.

Moore, Risdon, Ill., 1823.
Morrill, David L., N. H.
Morris, Thomas, Va., O.
Mower, Milo, La.

Nelson, John M., Va.
Nicholson, Judge, Md.
Niles, Hezekiah, Md.
Nye, Horace.

Ogden, George W.
Ogle, Jacob, Ill., 1823.
Osborne, Adila Lawrence, S. C.

Palmer, Dr., Mass.
Parker, Daniel, Ill., 1823.
Parrott,[1] Russell, Pa.
Paulding, James K.
Paxton, John D.
Peck, Rev. John M., Ill.
Peck, Solomon.
Pell, Gilbert, Ill., 1823.
Plumer, William, N. H.
Prentice, George D., Conn.
Pugh, Jonathan.

Quincy,[2] Josiah, Mass.

Rice, David, Ky.
Russwurm,[1] John B., N. Y.

Salsburys, The, of Ohio.
Schoolcraft.
Sergeant, John, Pa.
Sewall, Samuel E.
Sims, James, Ill., 1823.
Snedigers, The, of Ohio.
Stewart, Alvan.
Stillman, Stephen, Ill., 1823.
Stoddard, Amos.
Story, Judge.
Stroud, George M., Pa.
Sturgis, William, Mass.
Sullivan, Richard, Mass.
Sumner, Brad., Mass.

Tappan, Arthur.
Tappan, John, Mass.
Taylor, — —, N. Y.
Thomas, David, N. Y.
Thornton.
Torrey, Jesse.
Tyson, John S.

Walley, S. H., Mass.
Walker,[1] David, Mass.
Watson, Joseph.
Weld, Theodore D.
Whittier, John G.
Wright, Judge Jabez, O.
Wright, John, N. Y.

III. Names of the Agents of Lundy's "Genius" in the Different States

Massachusetts.
  Worcester, Noah.
New Jersey.
  Lundy, Richard.
Pennsylvania.
  Hale, Thomas.
  McKeever, William.
Maryland.
  Niles, Hezekiah.
  Stabler, James P.
Virginia.
  Brown, Samuel.
  Taylor, John, Jr.
  Webb, William.
North Carolina.
  Hellen, Brian.
  Lundy, Thomas.
  Moore, (?) Thos.
South Carolina.
  McMillan, Rev. H.

[1] A colored man.
[2] Signed the memorial in Mass. against further extension of slavery in Missouri which was quite anti-slavery.

KENTUCKY.
Corwine, Amos, Jr.
Grant, J. D.
Zane, William.
TENNESSEE.
Brazelton William.
Burkhart, George.
Deadrick, David, Esq.
Embree, Elijah.
Williams, John.
OHIO.
Embree, Thomas.
Lewis, William.
Mason, James M.
Pierce, Richard.
Smith, Mahlon.
Williams, Richard.
Wilson, James, Esq.
Wright, N.
ILLINOIS.
Gerger, John.
Piper, E. H.
Roberts, William F.
Warren, Hooper, Esq.

APPENDIX B

NAMES OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES, 1808–1831

CONNECTICUT.

New Haven. Bacon, 1825.

New Haven, colored. 1827.

DELAWARE.

Delaware Abolition Society, 1788, 1809, 1815, 1817, 1821, 1823, 1826, 1827.

Delaware Free Labor Society, 1827.

Kent County, 1817, 1818.

Wilmington. 1817.

Wilmington. 1821, 1826.

Wilmington Anti-Slavery Society, 1827.

Wilmington Free Produce. 1826, 1827.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

African Slavery Abolition Society of Washington. 1827.

Alexandria. 1827.

Alexandria Benevolent Society. 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829.

District of Columbia. 1827.

Society for Abolition in the District of Columbia, 1827, 1828.

Washington. 1827.

Washington City Abolition Society. 1827, 1828, 1829.

Washington Society for Abolition in the District of Columbia. 1828.

ILLINOIS.

Friends of Humanity. 1822, 1824.

KENTUCKY.

Friends of Humanity, 1807 (and later).

Kentucky Abolition Society. 1808, 1811, 1812, 1815, 1816, 1821, 1822.

Near Frankfort. 1809, 1823.

MARYLAND.

Anti-Slavery Convention of Maryland. 1826, 1827, 1828.

Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland. 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828.

Baltimore, 1826.

Baltimore Society, 1826, 1827.

Baltimore Protection Society.

Baltimore Young Men's Society. 1825.

Caecil County. 1827.

Easton. 1717, 1821.

Gunpowder Branch. 1826.

MARYLAND — (*Continued*)
Jefferson (Baltimore Co.). 1827.
Maryland Abolition Society, 1789, 1826, 1827.
Maryland Protection Society. 1818.
National Anti-Slavery Tract Society. 1827, 1828, 1829.
Newmarket (Fred. Co.) 1825.
Pike Creek Settlement (Fred. Co.). 1826.
MASSACHUSETTS.
Andover Seminary. 1826.
Williams College. 1826.
NEW JERSEY.
New Jersey Abolition Society. 1809 (dissolved 1817).
Trenton. 1812.
NEW YORK.
Abolition Society of New York. 1809, 1812.
Colored Society. 1812
New York. 1821.
New York Abolition Society. 1812, 1821.
New York Manumission Society. 1808, 1817, 1818, 1823 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829.
Young Men's (Colonization?). 1825.
NORTH CAROLINA.
Bellowes Creek, Stokes Co., 1825.
General Association of North Carolina. 1828.
Hillsboro. 1824.
Ladies' Society, — Jamestown. 1826.
Kennet. 1825, 1826.
Springfield. 1826.
Lane Crook Meeting House. 1824.
Manumission Society of Guilford County. 1818, 1821.
Manumission Society of North Carolina. 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1829, 1830, 1834.
Near Yadkin River. 1826.
Neighborhood of Hopewell. 1824.
North Carolina. 1825.
Orange County. 1824.
Randolph County Association. 1826.
South Fork Branch. 1826.
Springfield, Guilford County. 1825.
Surrey County. 1824.
Trotter's Creek. 1825.
OHIO.
Abolition Society of Monroe County. 1826.
Aiding Abolition Society of Monroe County. 1826.
Aiding Abolition Society of Ohio. 1826.
Belmont County, colored. 1827.

OHIO — (*Continued*)

Cincinnati Female Society. 1821.
Columbiana Abolition Society. 1827.
Columbiana, New Lisbon. 1826, 1827
Humane Society of Ohio. 1818.
Mt. Pleasant. 1815.
Ohio. 1821, 1827.
Ripley. ?
Salem Abolition and Colonization Society of Columbiana County. 1827.
Smithfield. 1827.
Sunsbury Meeting House, Monroe County. 1826.
West Union. 1818.
Zanesville. 1826.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Brownsville. 1826.
Centerville. 1818, 1825, 1826.
Chester County. 1820, 1821, 1823.
Columbia. 1818, 1821.
Convention of Abolition Societies of Western Pa., 1826, 1827.
Eastern Pa., 1828.
Franklin. 1827.
Harmony Abolition Society of Rostraver Township, Westmoreland County. 1827.
Northhuntington Abolition Society, Westmoreland County. 1827.
Pennsylvania Abolition Society. 1806, 1809, 1811, 1812, 1813, 1815, 1817, 1818, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829.
Philadelphia. 1821.
Philadelphia Free Produce. 1820, 1826, 1827, 1829.
Philadelphia Free Produce, colored. 1830.
Washington. 1825.
West Chester. 1821.
West Middleton. 1826.
Western Abolition Society of Washington. 1825, 1826.
Western Pennsylvania. 1826, 1827.
Western Pennsylvania Abolition Society. 1826.
Western Pennsylvania Manumission Society. 1826.

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence. 1806, 1821, 1823, 1825.
Rhode Island Abolition Society. 1794, 1826.

TENNESSEE.

Bethsaida Branch. 1822.
Humane Protection Society of Tennessee. 1821, 1822, 1823.
Jefferson. 1822.
Manumission Society of Tennessee. 1814, 1816, 1821, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1828.
Manumission Society of West Tennessee. 1824.

TENNESSEE — (*Continued*)

Moral, Religious, Manumission Society of West Tennessee. 1824, 1826
Nolachucky Branch. 1826.
Tennessee. 1821.

VIRGINIA.

Applepie Ridge, Frederick Co. 1827.
Brucetown. 1827.
Frederick. 1826.
Gravelly Run. 1825.
Loudon. 1823, 1825, 1826.
Loudon Manumission and Emigration Society. 1823, 1824.
Virginia Convention. 1827, 1828.
Winchester. 1827.

NOTE. These names have all been found in the publications of the times. It seems probable that many of the names are different renderings of the name of the same society. There is, however, no proof of that whatever, and as a consequence all the names have been inserted.

APPENDIX C

TABLE OF COURT CASES CITED

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APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The books named below are those which have proved of actual use in the investigations of which this monograph is the result. A very large number of other books were found named in many authorities, or in the catalogues or on the shelves of the libraries, which were read in the course of the investigation, which added nothing whatever to the knowledge in the hands of every reader of history. Many were too late, others too early. Others gave no real information with respect to the period.

There were quite a number of books and pamphlets which were not found by the writer, although diligent search was made. Some of these might not have been of any value to the purpose, could they have been found. Others would certainly have been invaluable. All those which seemed to have a value for the investigator of this period are named in the last section of this bibliography. The writer would be very glad to learn of the whereabouts of any there named.

A. BOOKS OF TRAVEL

I. By Foreign Travelers

Anon. "The Americans as they are; described in a Tour through the valley of the Mississippi. By the Author of 'Austria as it is.'" (London, 1828.)

Arfwedson, C. D. "The United States and Canada in 1832, 1833, and 1834." Two volumes. (London, 1834.)

Bernhard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar Eisenach. "Travels through North America during the years 1825 and 1826." Two volumes. (Phila., 1828.)

Blaine, William Newnham. "An Excursion through the United States and Canada during the years 1822–23. By an English Gentleman." (London, 1824.)

Ibid. "Travels through the United States and Canada." (London, 1828.) Identical with the preceding.

Bristed, John. "The Resources of the United States of America." (New York, 1818.)

Candler, Isaac. "A Summary View of America . . . being the result of Observations and Enquiries during a Journey in the United States. By an Englishman." (London, 1824.)

Duncan, John Morison. "Travels through part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819." Two volumes. (Glasgow, 1823.)

Faux, W. "Memorable Days in America; being a Journal of a Tour to the United States. (1818–1820.)" (London, 1823.)

Fearon, Henry Bradshaw. "Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America." (London, 1818.)

Finch, John, Esq. "Travels in the United States of America and Canada." (London, 1833.)

Flint, James. "Letters from America." (London, 1822.)

Hall, Capt. Basil. "Travels in North America, in the years 1827 and 1828. By Capt. Basil Hall, Royal Navy." Three volumes. (Edinburgh, 1829.)

Hall, Lieut. Francis. "Travels in Canada and the United States in 1816, 1817. By Lieut. Francis Hall, 14th Light Dragoons." (London, 1818; 2d edition, 1819.)

Hamilton, Thomas. "Men and Manners in America. By the Author of 'Cyril Thornton,' etc." (Philadelphia, 1833.)

Harris, William Tell. "Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America in the years 1817, 1818 and 1819." (London, 1821.)

Hodgson, Adam. "Letters from North America, written during a tour in the United States and Canada." Two volumes. (London, 1824.)

Holditch, Robert. "The Emigrant's Guide to the United States of America. By Robert Holditch, Esq., of the Royal College of Surgeons." (London, 1818.)

Holmes, Isaac. "An Account of the United States of America, derived from actual Observation, during a Residence of Four Years in that Republic." (London, 1823.)

Howitt, E. "Selections from Letters written during a Tour through the United States, in the Summer of 1819." (Nottingham, 1820.)

Ingersoll, Charles Jared (?). "Inchiquin the Jesuit's Letters during a Late Residence in the United States of America; being a fragment of a private correspondence accidentally discovered in Europe." By some unknown foreigner. (New York, 1810.)

Lambert, John. "Travels through . . . the United States of North America, in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808." Three volumes. (London, 1810.)

Melish, John. "Travels in the United States of America in the years 1806 and 1807, and 1809, 1810 and 1811." Two volumes. (Philadelphia, 1812.)

Murat, Prince Achille. "Lettres sur les États Unis, par le Prince Achille Murat, fils de l'ex-roi de Naples, à un de ses amis d'Europe." (Paris, 1830.) The first letter is dated July, 1826.

Ibid. "America and the Americans." (New York, 1849.) This is an account of the same journey as the above, translated into English. If, however, it is intended as a translation of the book above it is exceedingly free,

taking actual liberties with matter and order. It seems more probable that it is either the translation of a second book, giving a second account of the same journey, or a work written originally in English.

PALMER, JOHN. "Journal of Travels in the United States of North America, etc., performed in the year 1817." (London, 1818.)

TROLLOPE, MRS. FRANCES MILTON. "Domestic Manners of the Americans." (London, 1832. An edition was also printed in New York.)

WELBY, ADLARD, ESQ. "A Visit to North America and the English Settlements in Illinois." (London, 1821.)

WOODS, JOHN. "Two Years' Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie, in the Illinois Country, United States." (London, 1822.)

II. By Foreign Travelers, later Settling in the United States

AMPHLETT, WILLIAM. "The Emigrant's Directory to the Western States of North America." (London, 1819.)

BIRKBECK, MORRIS. "Notes on a Journey in America from the Coast of Virginia to the Territory of the Illinois." (2d edition, London, 1818; 1st probably earlier in the same year.)

IBID. "Letters from Illinois." (English edition, London, 1818; American edition, Philadelphia, 1818.)

FLOWER, RICHARD. "Letters from Lexington and the Illinois." (London, 1819.)

WRIGHT, FRANCES. "Views of Society and Manners in America; in a series of letters written from that country to a friend in England during the years 1818, 1819 and 1820. By an Englishwoman." (English edition, not found; American edition, from the 1st English edition, with corrections by the author, New York, 1821.)

III. By Americans

BROWN, SAMUEL R. "The Western Gazetteer; or Emigrant's Directory." (Auburn, N. Y., 1817.)

COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE. "Notions of the Americans: picked up by a Travelling Bachelor." Two volumes. (London, 1828; Philadelphia, 1832.)

DARBY, WILLIAM. "A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana." (Philadelphia, 1816.)

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY. "Travels in New England and New York. (1796–1815.) By Timothy Dwight, S.T.D., LL.D. Late President of Yale College." (New Haven, 1821–1822.) Printed for the author.

EVANS, ESTWICK. "A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles through the Western States and Territories during the Winter and Spring of 1818." (Concord, N. H., 1819.)

KNIGHT, HENRY C. "Letters from the South and West. By Arthur Singleton, Esq." (Boston, 1824.)

Ogden, George W. "Letters from the West." (New Bedford, Mass., 1823.)

Paulding, James Kirke. "Letters from the South, written during an excursion in the summer of 1816. By the author of John Bull and Brother Jonathan, etc., etc." Two volumes. (New York, 1817.)

Royall, Anne. "Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the United States. By a Traveler." (New Haven, 1820.) The author lived principally in Washington, D. C., and Alabama.

Stoddard, Amos. "Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana. By Major Amos Stoddard, Member of the U.S.M.P.S. and of the New York Historical Society." (Philadelphia, 1812.)

Thomas, David. "Travels through the Western Country in the summer of 1816." (Auburn, N. Y., 1819.)

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I. Biography

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American Convention. "Constitution of the American Convention, etc., adopted on the 11th day of Dec., 1818, to take effect on the 5th day of Oct., 1819." Pamphlet. (Philadelphia, 1819.)

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Birkbeck, Morris. "An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the Question of a Convention, 1823." Signed by the Minority of the Legislature.

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Furman, Rev. Dr. Richard. "Exposition of the Views of the Baptists relative to the Coloured Population in the United States, in a communication to the governor of South Carolina." (1st edition, Dec. 1822; 2d, 1833.) He believed in the righteousness of slavery, but not of cruelty to slaves.

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is impolitic, anti-republican, unchristian, and highly criminal; and proposing measures for its complete abolition through the United States." (Cambridge, 1817.)

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"Pocahontas; A Proclamation: with Plates." (Conn., 1820.)

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Rice, Rev. David. "A Kentucky Protest against Slavery. Slavery inconsistent with Justice and good Policy, proved by a Speech delivered in the Convention, held at Danville, Kentucky, by the Rev. David Rice." (Reprint 1862.) The address was delivered in 1792; and reprinted once in 1812. The title is that of the reprint of 1862.

Saunders, Prince. "A Memoir presented to the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, etc., December 11th, 1818; etc." (Philadelphia, 1818.) This gives a good account of the condition of Hayti at this time, and plans for emigration there.

Sergeant, John. "Speech on the Missouri Question in the House of Representatives of the U. States." Pamphlet. (1820.)

Sewall, Samuel E. "On Slavery in the United States." Pamphlet reprint of articles in the Christian Examiner, vol. 4.

Slave Trade. "A View of the Present State of the Slave Trade. Published by direction of a meeting representing the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, etc." (Philadelphia, 1824.)

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"Slavery, A Treatise on. By an unknown Author, of Virginia." The date is not given, but it is after the independence of San Domingo, and apparently before the independence of the Greeks.

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slavery is not forbidden by the Bible, but that the slaves should receive religious instruction.

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Taney, Roger B. Defence of Rev. Jacob Gruber. In "Views of American Slavery Taken a Century Ago." Appendix, q. v.

Taylor, Col. John. "Arator: being a series of Agricultural Essays, practical and political: in sixty-one numbers. Second edition. Revised and enlarged. By John Taylor of Caroline County, Virginia." (Georgetown, Columbia, 1814.)

Torrey, Jesse. "A Portraiture of Domestic Slavery, in the United States: with Reflections on the Practicability of restoring the Moral Rights of the Slave without impairing the Legal Privileges of the Possessor; and a Project of a Colonial Asylum for Free Persons of Colour: etc. By Jesse Torrey, Jun. Physician. Published by the author." (Philadelphia, 1817.)

Turnbull, Robert James. "The Crisis: or Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government. By Brutus." (Charleston, 1827.)

Wainwright, J. M. "A Discourse, on the Occasion of forming the African Mission School Society, delivered in Christ Church, in Hartford, Connecticut, on Sunday Evening, Aug. 10, 1828. By Rev. J. M. Wainwright, D.D., Rector of Grace Church, New York. Published at the request of the Directors of the Society." (Hartford, 1828.) This advocates colonization. The object of the society was to send missionaries to Africa.

Walker, David. "Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, together with a preamble, to the Colored Citizens of the World, but in particular and very expressly to those of the United States of America. Written in Boston, State of Massachusetts, September 28, 1829." (2d edition, 1830.) Other editions followed. Walker was a colored man. See account of this in text, pp. 93-95.

Wheaton, Josephus, A. M. "The Equality of Mankind and the Evils of Slavery, Illustrated: A Sermon, delivered on the day of the Annual Fast, April 6, 1820. By Josephus Wheaton, A. M., Pastor of the church in Holliston (Mass.). Published by Request." (Boston, 1820.)

Woolman, John. "Considerations on Slavery, addressed to the Professors

of Christianity of every denomination, and affectionately recommended to their sober, unprejudiced attention, by John Woolman." (An edition published in Baltimore in 1821, "about 70 years" after the original.)

E. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

I. Anti-Slavery Periodicals. 1808–1831

"African Observer, The. Edited by Enoch Lewis, No. 21 Powell Street, Philadelphia. To be continued monthly. Price Two Dollars per annum, payable in advance. No. 1. Vol. 1. Fourth Month, 1827."

"Freedom's Journal. Devoted to the improvement of the colored population. By John Russwurm. New York." The date of the first number is not found. That for April 4, 1828, was vol. 2, No. 2. It was also published in 1820, the number for March of that year being the latest found.

"Genius of Liberty. Union, Pa. 1821."

"Genius of Universal Emancipation, The. Containing Original Essays and Selections on the Subject of African Slavery. Benjamin Lundy, Editor." Vol. 1. 1821. For an account of this see text, pp. 26, 45–47. A complete set with the exception of vols. 3 and 9 is in the Boston Public Library; vol. 3 is at Oberlin University; and vol. 9 at Johns Hopkins University. Other libraries have single volumes.

"Philanthropist, The. Mt. Pleasant, Ohio." 1817–1819. Two volumes of this are at Johns Hopkins University.

II. Miscellaneous. 1808–1831

"Alexandria Gazette."

"American Republican." Quoted in Darlington on the Missouri Question. q. v.

"Christian Examiner and General Review. (Boston and London.)" Bi-monthly Quotations on Colonization from vol. 13.

"Christian Observer, The, conducted by Members of the Established Church. (London.)" Article in vol. 23 (1823), on Slavery in the United States.

"Christian Spectator, conducted by an Association of Gentlemen. (New Haven.) Monthly." References to Colonization in vols. 5, N. S. 2; and on Slavery in vol. 7.

"Illinois Gazette, Shawneetown, Illinois." Number for March 2, 1822.

"Indiana Gazette, Corydon, Indiana."

"Journal of the Times; Bennington, Vt.," 1818, 1819. Edited by Garrison.

"National Philanthropist. Boston." 1826–1827.

"National Register, The. Washington, D. C." Published by Joel K. Mead, 1816, 1817.

"New England Weekly Review. Hartford, Conn." 1829–1832. Edited by George D. Prentice and then by John G. Whittier.

"Niles' Weekly Register. Edited by Hezekiah Niles, Baltimore, Md." This was published during the whole of the period, and beyond it, and is most invaluable.

"North American Review, Vol. 18 (1824), and Vol. 35 (1832). (Boston.)" The references are to Colonization.

"Register of Pennsylvania, The. Samuel Hazard, Editor." 1828–1836.

"Southern Review, The. Charleston, S. C." Vol. 1, 1828. Colonization.

"Washington Gazette." 1818–1822, etc

III. Newspapers and Periodicals after 1831

"Abolitionist, The, or Record of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Edited by a committee." First number Jan., 1833. Some account of earlier

"American Jurist." 1829–1843. Reference to vol. 7.

"Liberator, The." Edited by William Lloyd Garrison. First number 1831.

"Liberia. The Bulletins of the American Colonization Society." Reference to No. 15, Nov., 1899; and No. 16, Feb. 1900.

IV. Magazine Articles

Colonization. Relation of Colonization and Abolition. Four articles. "Spirit of the Pilgrims," vol. 6, pp. 322, 396, 539, 569.

Colonization, Article on. "National Register." Jan. 11, 1817, p. 17.

Colonization, African, Review of articles on. "Christian Quarterly Review," 1830.

Colonization. Report of the first meeting of the Massachusetts Colonization Society. The constitution pledged the members to aid the slaves by supporting the society, or in any other way. "Niles' Register," 23. 39. Quoted from the "Boston Advertiser."

Colonization. Report of the Committee of the U. S. House of Representatives, to whom was referred the memorial of the American Colonization Society in 1818. "Niles' Register," vol. 15, supplement, p. 42.

Colonization. Reports of the meetings of the American Colonization Society. "National Register," Jan. 4, 1817; "Niles' Register," vol. 15, supplement, p. 44.

Colonization. Review of the Reports of the Meetings of the American Colonization Society, 1818 1825. "American Monthly Spectator," 5. 485, 540.

Colonization Society. Address to the Public, 1819. "Niles' Register," 16. 165, 233.

District of Columbia. Extract from the speech of Charles Miner in the House of Representatives, on Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District in 1829. "American Quarterly Review," 14. 54.

Fugitive Slaves. "National Register," Feb. 22, 1817, p. 122; "Freedom's Journal," 1828–1829, p. 325.

Illinois. Appeal to the People of Illinois. "Monthly Review," 103. 171.

Indiana. Memorial for permission to form a state, 1815. "Niles' Register," 9. 352.

Johnson, Oliver. Charles Osborn's Place in Anti-Slavery History. "International Review" for Sept., 1882.

Julian, George W. The Genesis of Modern Abolitionism. "International Review," June, 1882.

Julian, George W. The Truth of Anti-Slavery History. Ibid. Nov. 1882.

Maryland. Valuation of lands, dwelling houses and slaves by counties. "Niles' Register," 10. 103. (1816.)

Population, Comparative Tables of. "Niles' Register," 1. 264, 308, 358, 388; 9. 238.

Presbyterian General Assembly, 1818, on the subject of slavery. "Niles' Register," vol. 16. supplement, 153.

Slaves. Restoration of slaves by the British, 1815. "Niles' Register," vol. 8. supplement, 155.

Slave Trade. Documents presented to the House of Commons. Includes those involving the United States. "Niles' Register," 8. 302; 9. 78; 9. 172.

South Carolina. Act to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any other state. "National Register," vol. 3, No. 2, p. 32.

Underground Railroad. Address by Hon. John Hutchins before Mahoning County Pioneer Society. "Mag. of Western Hist.," 5. 672. This is the number for March, 1887; the address was "some years earlier," no date given.

Underground Railroad, Light on the. Wilbur H. Siebert. "American Historical Magazine," April, 1896.

There were of course many more articles in Niles' Register than are named in this list. The aim was to give here the names of articles in that publication which were not quoted in the text of this work, but which were of interest to the reader and investigator of this subject. The whole work is of importance, and was named earlier in the bibliography.

F. REPORTS

I. Reports of the American Convention, 1808–1831

"Minutes of the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the Condition of the African Race. For 1809." (In the libraries of the New York Historical Society; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Rhode Island Historical Society; and American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.)

Ibid. for 1812. (In the libraries of Brown University; Cornell University; the New York Historical Society; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and the Rhode Island Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1815, adjourned to 1816. (Brown University; New York Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1817. (Brown University; Congregational Library, Boston; Pennsylvania Historical Society; and Rhode Island Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1818. (Boston Athenæum; Cornell University; Boston Public Library; Massachusetts Historical Society; New York Historical Society; Pennsylvania Historical Society; Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Branch.)

Ibid. for 1819. (Brown University; Cornell University; Pennsylvania Historical Society; Rhode Island Historical Society; American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.)

Ibid. for 1821. (Brown University; New York Historical Society; Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1823. (Brown University; New York Historical Society; Pennsylvania Historical Society; Rhode Island Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1825. (Brown University; Cornell University; Library of Congress; Johns Hopkins University; Rhode Island Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1826, adjourned session. (Brown University; Pennsylvania Historical Society; Rhode Island Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1827. (Brown University; Cornell University; Johns Hopkins University; Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1828, adjourned session. (Cornell University; Johns Hopkins University; New York Historical Society.)

Ibid. for 1829. (Library of Congress; Harvard University; New York Historical Society.)

II. Reports of Anti-Slavery Societies, 1808–1831

Report of the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, 1816.

III. Reports of later Anti-Slavery Societies. (Valuable here for names of those active in both periods.)

Annual Reports of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1833–end.

Annual Reports of the Massachusetts (or New England) Anti-Slavery Society, 1831–end.

Reports of the National Anti-Slavery Conventions, 1833–end.

IV. Reports of Colonization Societies

Baltimore. "Proceedings of a meeting of the Friends of African Colonization, held in the City of Baltimore on the 17 October, 1827." (Pamphlet, signed copy in the Harvard Library.)

New Jersey. Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the New Jersey Colonization Society. Held at Princeton, N. J., July 10, 1826. (Princeton Press, 1826.)

Reports of the American Colonization Society, 1818–1832.

V. Reports of Conventions of People of Color

"Minutes and Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the People of Color. Held by Adjournment in the City of Philadelphia, from the sixth to the eleventh of June, inclusive, 1831." (Philadelphia, 1831.)

"Minutes and Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention, for the Improvement of the Free People of Color in these United States. Held by Adjournments in the City of Philadelphia, from the 4th to the 13th of June, inclusive, 1832." (Philadelphia, 1832.)

These reports are useful for giving the name of prominent colored people, and also for the account they give of the condition of the free colored people at the North as well as at the South, and of the colony in Canada.

G. LEGISLATION

I. Congress

American State Papers, Miscellaneous, Vol. 2.
Annals of Congress.
House Documents. (Many printed as separate pamphlets.)
Register of Debates.

II. State

Pennsylvania. "An Act to give effect to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relative to Fugitives from Labor, for the protection of Free People of Color, and to prevent Kidnapping, 1826."

Pennsylvania. William Dunlop. "New Digest of the Acts of the Pennsylvania Assembly." (Philadelphia, 1853.)

South Carolina. "Important Act of the Legislature of South Carolina. Passed at the Session in December, 1823, to prevent Free Negroes and Persons of Colour from entering this State." (Charleston, 1830.)

Texas. "Laws of the State of Coahuila and Texas." Published in 1839. A parallel edition in Spanish and English.

Virginia. "Proceedings and Debates of the Virginia State Convention of 1829 1830. To which are subjoined, The New Constitution of Virginia, and the Votes of the People." (Richmond, 1830.)

H. LAW REPORTS, DIGESTS, ETC.

I. General Works

Cobb, T. R. R. "Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery." (1858.) With this is usually published his History of Slavery.

Federal Cases, The. "Comprising Cases argued and determined in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, from the earliest times to the

beginning of the Federal Reporter." (1789–1880). Thirty volumes, and two digests. This is invaluable. (St. Paul, 1895, etc.)

HURD, JOHN CODMAN. "The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States. Two volumes." (Boston and New York, 1858.) This was intended as a text-book, the first volume being a general dissertation on common law and the law of slavery. The second volume contains accounts of many court decisions in illustration of the law, and is invaluable, especially as it gives many which were tried in the lower courts of the various states.

KENT, JUDGE JAMES. "Commentaries on American Law." Four volumes. (12th edition, Boston, 1873.)

JONES, LEONARD AUGUSTUS. "Index to Legal Periodical Literature." Two volumes. (Boston, 1888, 1891.)

SERGEANT, THOMAS. "Constitutional Law." (Philadelphia, 1830, 2d ed.)

STROUD, GEORGE M. "A Sketch of Laws relating to Slavery in the several States of the United States of America." (Philadelphia, 1st edition, 1827; 2d edition, enlarged and improved, 1856.) This is invaluable for the practical application of the laws. Stroud was an anti slavery man, though not a member of any abolition society, and his book presents the law from that standpoint.

WHEELER, JACOB D. "A Practical Treatise on the Law of Slavery, being a Compilation of all the Decisions on that Subject, in the several Courts of the United States and State Courts." (New York and New Orleans, 1837.) This is the most comprehensive work of its kind, and is invaluable. It gives the law and its applications from the Southern point of view, but while apparently partizan, shows that failing only in the deductions drawn from the facts, not at all in the facts themselves.

It is only in the above works that we can learn of the decisions in the lower courts, and they are especially valuable for that reason. The digest, "Federal Cases," contains all cases on all subjects before the Federal Courts, which means, of course, all the cases of any real importance in the District of Columbia.

II. STATE REPORTS, ETC.

1. Alabama.

MARTIN, WILLIAM J. "The Code of Alabama (1896–97). Prepared by William J. Martin, Commissioner." This gives the earlier constitution.

MINOR, HENRY. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Alabama." (1820–1826.)

STEWART, GEORGE N. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Alabama." (1827–1831.) (The dates given refer to that part of the period 1808–1831 covered in the authority. When the dates 1808 and 1831 occur the entire period covered by the authority is not necessarily named.)

2. Connecticut.

DAY, THOMAS B. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Errors of the State of Connecticut." Two volumes, 1, 1808–1813; 2, 1814–1831. The latter was published in 1848.

3. District of Columbia.

CRANCH C. C. REPORTS, quoted in "Federal Cases."

"THE SLAVERY CODE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, together with Notes and Judicial Decisions explanatory of the Same. By a member of the Washington Bar." (Washington, 1862.)

WASHINGTON C. C. REPORTS, quoted in "Federal Cases."

4. Illinois.

BREESE, SIDNEY. "Reports of Cases at Common Law and in Chancery argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois." (1819–1831.) Published in 1831.

"GENIUS OF LIBERTY; An Extra. Slave Code of the State of Illinois." This is quite late, but it gives earlier dates.

5. Indiana.

BLACKFORD, ISAAC. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of Indiana." (1819–1831.)

6. Kentucky.

BIBB, GEORGE M. "Reports of Cases at Common Law and in Chancery argued and decided in the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky." (1808–1817.)

LITTELL, WILLIAM. "Reports of Cases at Common Law and in Chancery decided by the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky." (1822–1824.)

MARSHALL, ALEXANDER K. "Decisions of the Court of Appeals of Kentucky." (1817–1821.)

MARSHALL, J. J. "Reports of Cases at Common Law and in Equity argued and decided in the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky." (1825–1828.)

MONROE, THOMAS B. "Reports of Cases at Common Law and in Equity argued and decided in the Court of Appeals of the Commonwealth of Kentucky." (1829–1831.)

7. Louisiana.

MARTIN, FRANÇOIS-XAVIER. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the State of Louisiana." (1809–1830.)

8. Maryland.

BLAND, THEODORICK. "Reports of Cases decided in the High Court of Chancery of Maryland."

DORSEY, CLEMENT. "Laws of Maryland, 1692–1839."

GILL & JOHNSON. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals in Maryland." (1829–1831.) By Richard W. Gill and John Johnson.

HARRIS & GILL. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals in Maryland." (1827–1829.) By Thomas Harris & Rich. W. Gill.

HARRIS & JOHNSON. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals in Maryland." (1808–1826.) By Thomas Harris and Reverdy Johnson.

9. Massachusetts.

MASON'S REPORTS, quoted in "Federal Cases."

PICKERING, OCTAVIUS. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts." (1822–1831.)

TYNG, DUDLEY ATKINS. "Report of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." (1808–1822.)

10. Mississippi.

HUTCHINSON'S CODE.

WALKER, R. J. "Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Mississippi." (1818–1831.)

11. Missouri.

GEYER. "Digest of the Laws of Missouri Territory."

"LAWS OF THE STATE of Missouri, 1825."

MISSOURI SUPREME COURT REPORTS. "The Decisions of the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri." 1821–1827, by P. H. McBride, Sec'y of State; 1828–1831, by J. C. Edwards, Sec'y of State.

12. New Jersey.

HALSTED, WILLIAM, JR. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of New Jersey." (1822–1831.)

PENNINGTON, HON. WM. S. "Report of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of New Jersey." (1806–1813.)

SOUTHARD, SAMUEL L. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of the State of New Jersey." (1816–1820.)

13. New York.

ANTHON, JOHN, ESQ. "The Law of Nisi Prius, being Reports of Cases determined at Nisi Prius, in the Supreme Court of the State of New York, with notes and commentaries on each case." (2d edition, New York, 1858.)

COWEN, ESEK. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court and in the Court for the Trial of impeachments and the correction of errors of the State of New York." (1823–1827.)

JOHNSON, WILLIAM. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature and in the Court for the trial of impeachments, and the correction of errors in the State of New York." (1808–1822.)

"SELECTIONS FROM THE REVISED STATUTES of the State of New York. Containing all the laws of the State relative to Slaves, and the law relative to the offence of kidnapping; which several laws commenced and took effect January 1, 1830. Together with extracts from the laws of the United States respecting slaves. Published on behalf of the New York Manumission Society, by direction of the Standing Committee. (New York, 1830.)"

WENDELL, JOHN L. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature and in the Court for the trial of impeachments and the correction of errors of the State of New York." (1828–1831.)

14. North Carolina.

DEVEREUX, THOMAS P. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of North Carolina." (1826–1831.)

"EQUITY CASES argued and determined in the Supreme Court of North Carolina." (1828–1831.)

HAWKES, FRANCIS L. "Report of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of North Carolina." (1820–1826.)

HAYWOOD, "Manual of Laws."

MURPHEY, A. D. "Reports of Cases argued and adjudged in the Supreme Court of North Carolina." (1814–1819.)

TAYLOR, J. L. "North Carolina Reports, embracing the 'Carolina Law Repository,' etc." (1816–1818.)

15. Pennsylvania.

BINNEY, HORACE. "Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania." (1808–1814.)

RAWLE, WILLIAM, JR. "Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania." (1828–1831.)

SERGEANT AND RAWLE. "Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania." (1814–1828.)

YEATES, HON. JASPER. "Reports of Cases adjudged in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, with some select cases at Nisi Prius and in the Circuit Courts."

16. South Carolina.

BAILEY, H. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of South Carolina on appeal from the courts of law." (1828-1831.)

BREVARD, HON. JOSEPH. "Reports of Judicial Decisions in the State of South Carolina." (1809–1816.)

DENMARK VESEY INSURRECTION. "An Official Report of the Trials of sundry Negroes, charged with an attempt to raise an insurrection in the State of South Carolina: preceded by an Introduction and Narrative; and in an Appendix, a report of the trials of four white persons, on indictments for attempting to excite the slaves to insurrection. Prepared and published at the request of the Court. By Lionel H. Kennedy and Thomas Parker, Members of the Charleston Bar, and the Presiding Magistrates of the Court. (Charleston, 1822.)" Pamphlet. The copy in the Boston Public Library has eight pages missing.

MCCORD. "Reports of Cases determined in the Constitutional Court of South Carolina." (1821–1828.)

MILL. "Reports of Judicial Decisions in the Constitutional Court of the State of South Carolina." (1812–1816.)

"REPORTS OF JUDICIAL DECISIONS in the Constitutional Court of the State of South Carolina." (1817–1818.)

"REPORTS OF CASES determined in the Constitutional Court of South Carolina. By Henry Junius Nott, and David James McCord." (1817-1820.)

"STATUTES AT LARGE. (Collected by David J. McCord, 1839.)"

17. Tennessee.

MARTIN AND YERGER'S Reports.

YERGER, GEORGE S. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Tennessee." (1818–1831.)

18. Virginia.

GILMER, FRANCIS W. "Report of Cases decided in the Court of Appeals of Virginia." (1820–1821.)

HARPER'S REPORTS.

HENING AND MUNFORD. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia. By William W. Hening and William Munford." (1809–1810.)

LEIGH, BENJAMIN WATKINS. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals (of Virginia)." (1829–1831.)

MUNFORD, WILLIAM. "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia." (1810–1820.)

RANDOLPH, PEYTON. "Report of Cases argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of Virginia, etc." (1822–1828.)

VIRGINIA CASES. "A Collection of cases decided by the General Court of Virginia, etc. Judges Brockenburgh and Holmes." (1808–1814.)

I. MISCELLANEOUS

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANACS. Earliest, 1836. Good for early dates.

ARMISTEAD, WILSON. "A 'Cloud of Witnesses' against Slavery and Oppression. Containing the Acts, Opinions and Sentiments of Individuals and Societies in all ages." (London, 1853.) Contains some Americans.

CHILD, DAVID L. "The Despotism of Freedom: or the Tyranny and Cruelty of American Republican slave-masters, shown to be the worst in the world; in a speech, delivered at the first anniversary of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, 1833." (Boston, 1833.) This gives some account of kidnapping and slave trade during the earlier period.

"DEMOCRATIC OPINIONS on Slavery, 1776–1863."

"HANCOCK"; an apology for voting for the Fugitive Slave Law of 1851.

"LIBERTY." A compilation (1837), giving some quotations from the early period.

LIBERTY ALMANACS. Useful for dates. (New York and Boston.)

LOSSING, B. J. Cyclopedia.

MAY, SAMUEL, JR. Catalogue of Anti-Slavery Publications in America. A very good list, with dates.

PENNSYLVANIA on the Missouri Question. Pamphlet. (1856.)

POOLE, WILLIAM F. "Anti-Slavery Opinions before the Year 1800. Read before the Cincinnati Literary Club, Nov. 16, 1872, by William Frederick Poole, Librarian of the Public Library of Cincinnati." (Cincinnati, 1873.) There are also later opinions cited.

SABIN. "Dictionary of Books relating to America." This will be of great service when it is completed through "Slavery." There is only occasionally

a book mentioned under other heads that is of service to the student of this subject.

"Views of American Slavery Taken a Century Ago." (Philadelphia, 1858.) The Appendix gives later opinions.

Weld, Theodore Dwight. "American Slavery as it is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses." (New York. Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society, 1839.)

Young, A. W. "American Statesman."

A good many books, pamphlets, etc., are named in the books published in the period under discussion, and in later works, which the present writer has not been able to find in any of the libraries in which the work has been done, nor in those with which correspondence has been had. Many of these would be exceedingly valuable were they to be found, and a goodly number have been mentioned in the text. The following are the more valuable of this sort, judging from contemporary evidence. Those prefixed by * are of especial importance.

I. Books of Travel

Gould, William. The name was found, but no more. It may be the one who traveled in 1794.

Mead, Whitman. "Travels in North America." (New York, 1820.) This is mentioned in Weld, "American Slavery as it is."

Rochemont, Pictet de. "Travels." The name alone was found. It may be an earlier traveler.

II. Biography

Coffin, Elijah, Life of. 1863.

Kendall. Funeral Sermon of Samuel Dexter.

Lewis, Enoch. Memoir by Joseph J. Lewis. (West Chester, Pa. 1882.)

*Tarrant, Carter. "Biographical Sketches of the Kentucky Emancipationists." Mentioned by Birney. Tarrant lived in the early part of the period.

III. Autobiography

Brookes, Edward. "Life and Journal." (In Friends' Miscellany, XII, 1839.) He visited North Carolina in 1813.

Cadwallader, Priscilla. Memoirs. (Philadelphia, 1864.)

Evans, Williams. Journal of Life and Religious Labors. (Philadelphia, 1870.)

Forster, William. Memories. (London, 1865.)

Healey, Christopher. Memoir. (Philadelphia, 1886.)

Hoag, Joseph. Journal. (Auburn, 1861; London, 1862.)

Morris, Joseph. Reminiscences. (Ohio.)

Williams, William. Journal. (Cincinnati, 1828.)

IV. Histories

Dunlevy. "History of the Miami Association."

Spencer. "History of the Kentucky Baptists." Mentioned in Birney.

V. Books and Pamphlets Published, 1808–1831

Anti-Slavery Petitions. (1828).

*Barrow, Rev. David. "Involuntary, Unmerited, Perpetual, Absolute, Hereditary Slavery Examined, on the Principles of Nature, Reason, Justice, Policy and Scripture." Published in Paris, Ky., between 1807 and 1813. This is mentioned and described in Benedict, History of the Baptists, which was published in 1813.

*Brewster, Jarvis. "An Exposition of the Treatment of Slaves in the Southern States, particularly in the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia." (New Brunswick, N. J., 1815.) This is given as quoted in Kenrick, "Horrors of Slavery," published in 1817.

*Burgess, Dyer. Pamphlet against slavery published in Ripley, Ohio, in 1827. Mentioned in Birney.

Clarkson, Thomas. "Essay on Slavery," republished by J. N. Lyle, in Kentucky in 1816. Mentioned in Birney.

"Emigration to Hayti." (Philadelphia, 1825.) Mentioned in Birney.

Finley, James. Letter to Asa Mahan. Mentioned in Weld, "American Slavery as it is."

*Gilliland, Rev. James. "Dialogues on Slavery." Published at Ripley, Ohio, in 1820. Mentioned by Birney.

Hicks, Elias. "Observations on the slavery of Africans and their Descendants." 1814.

Slavery in Indiana. 1824.

Randolph, John. Address before the Virginia Legislature in 1820.

Ibid. Letter to Josiah Quincy in 1814.

*Impolicy of Slavery. 1823. Mentioned in Birney.

*Pictures of Slavery. 1823. Mentioned in Birney.

*Impolicy of Slavery Illustrated. 1825.

"*Tennessee, Address before the Emancipation Society of." Quoted by Wm. D. Kelly, House of Representatives, Jan. 16, 1865. Printed by Huskell and Brown, 1817.

*Thornton. 1822. The writer is mentioned by Blanc as writing against slavery. Not even the title or particular subject is given.

*Wright, John. Pamphlet against slavery. Mentioned by W. Faux in his "Travels." No more details are given.

VI. Newspapers, etc., 1808–1831

*Abolition Intelligencer. A monthly paper published by Rev. John Finley Crowe under the auspices of the Kentucky Abolition Society, about 1822.

African Repository. There were proposals in the Christian Spectator for 1823, for the publication of a monthly, "The African Repository and Colonial Journal," by the American Colonization Society. One or two other notices of it have been found, but no copy of the paper itself.

Edwardsville Spectator. Illinois, 1822. Edited by Hooper Warren. A number of the communications to the people of Illinois by the friends of freedom during the Illinois struggle were first printed in this paper, which did a good work for the slave in the period.

*Emancipator. Published by Elihu Embree, at Jonesboro', Tenn., in 1820. An octavo monthly. The same name is also given with the name of Lambert as publisher, and the dates 1819 (?) and 1822.

Illinois Intelligencer, 1823–1824. Edited by David Blackwell.

Investigator, Providence, R. I. 1827.

*Liberalist, The. New Orleans, La. Edited by Milo Mower.

*Manumission Intelligencer. Tennessee, 1818.

*Manumission Journal. Greenville, Tenn. (?) 1825.

*Patriot, The. North Carolina.

Philanthropist and Investigator, Boston, 1829. Mentioned by Birney.

VII. Magazine Articles

Fugitive Slaves. Democratic Review, April, 1851.

Missouri Compromise. Ibid. vol. 34.

Negro Slavery, 1823. Ecl. R. 46. 490.

VIII. Reports, etc.

*Minutes of the North Carolina Manumission Society, 1815–1835. Property of the No. Carolina Yearly Meeting. (MSS?)

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Convention, 1837.

IX. Miscellaneous

Ames, Julius R. "Sentiments expressed by Southerners. A Compilation." I think this was found at one time, but has been lost sight of, and cannot now be found.

Churches, Testimony of the, etc., etc., 1767, 1819.

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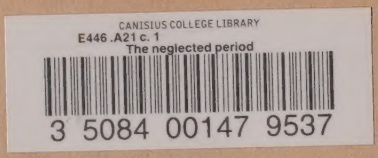
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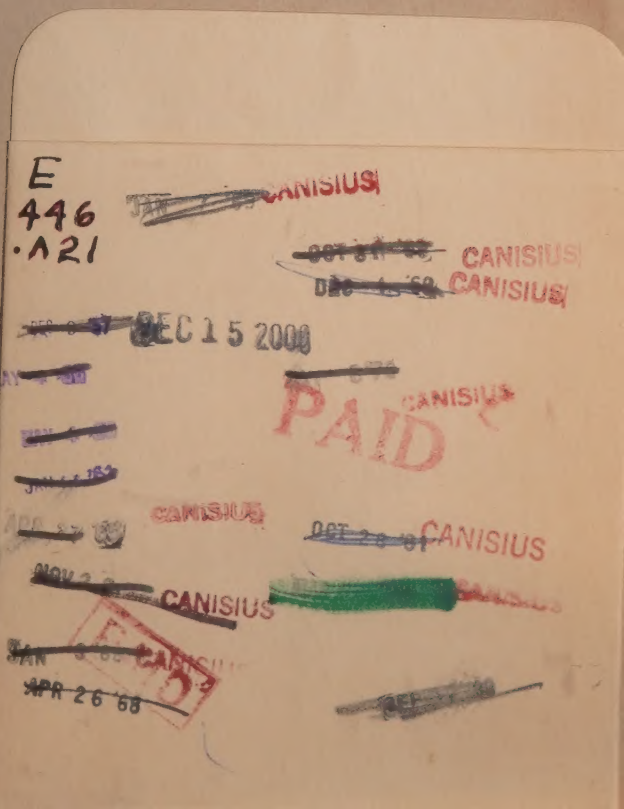
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